Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-94-152 *8 August 1994*

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President on FRY Suspending Ties With Serbs

AU0608160394 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 5 Aug 94

[Text] Asked by correspondent Bujar Muharremi to comment on yesterday's decision by the Belgrade government, President Sali Berisha today declared that it would have been a clear-cut, convincing, and positive decision by the government of the former Yugoslavia not to announce Belgrade's severing of political and economic relations with the Bosnian Serbs but to allow international monitoring of the application of this suspension.

Berisha Reacts to NATO Air Strikes on Serbs

AU0608192294 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 6 Aug 94

[Text] The following is a press announcement by the Press and Information Office of the President:

President Sali Berisha is of the opinion that more serious strikes carried out by NATO aircraft, instead of the minimal assaults, would have more quickly convinced the Bosnian Serbs to accept the peace plan offered by the Contact Group, the president's spokesman confirmed today.

Turkish Assembly Speaker Arrives From FYROM

TA0608184694 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1700 GMT 6 Aug 94

[Text] Before leaving Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] for Albania, Assembly Speaker Husamettin Cindoruk held a joint news conference with FYROM Assembly President Stojan Andov. Cindoruk said concrete steps must be taken regarding the issues on which the two countries reached agreement. He pointed out that there are great similarities between the two countries in the fields of economics and democracy. This will accelerate the strengthening of our relations, he said.

Cindoruk pointed out that a large number of nations live together in the Balkans. He stressed that this mosaic must be appreciated and ways of coexistence must be found. He said it was pleasing to see that FYROM is assuming its place on the stage of history once again. He recalled that Turkey was the first country to recognize FYROM by the name cited in its Constitution.

In turn, Andov said the visit is a sign of the desire to further develop bilateral relations. He said Turkey and FYROM share the view that peace and cooperation must be established in the Balkans.

After the news conference, Andov and other officials saw Cindoruk off from (Ohri) airport. Cindoruk was received in Albania by Albanian People's Assembly President Pjeter Arbnori. From the airport, he proceeded to Durres, where he and Arbnori held a meeting. At the meeting, Cindoruk said Albania made a very correct choice in opting for democracy and a market economy. He said this will make it easier for Albania to fall in step with the modern world. Cindoruk pointed out that the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Parliament Assembly meeting will be held in Tirana in the fall. This, he said, shows that Albania is developing.

Arbnori said Albania made great progress during the past two years and is advancing toward democracy with determined steps. He stressed that a powerful Albania will help to establish stability in the Balkans. He said the problems between the Balkan countries can only be solved through mutual goodwill and negotiations.

Cindoruk and his delegation then visited the point where the Durres-Skopje-Sofia-Istanbul highway project is to start. Later, they went to Tirana.

Cindoruk met with the chairman and members of the People's Assembly Foreign Policy Committee. He was meeting with Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi when this news bulletin was being prepared.

Economic Reform, Balkans Viewed

AU0608202594 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 6 Aug 94

[Excerpts] Turkish Parliament Chairman Husamettin Cindoruk, the second political dignitary in Turkey, arrived on an official visit to Albania today. [passage omitted]

This is the first time that Cindoruk has visited Albania. With an almost 40-year political career, very profound and successful in Turkey and beyond, Cindoruk has often been pointed out as Albania's good friend and supporter in the international community.

My visit to Albania is special. We will focus on many issues. I was invited to Albania by my friend [Assembly Presidency Chairman Pjeter] Arbnori. However, I apologize for the delay, Turkish Parliament Chairman Husamettin Cindoruk said at Rinas airport for Albanian Television.

Cindoruk is heading a large delegation that comprises Turkish parliamentarians, high functionaries, politicians, diplomats, etc.

After greeting Chairman Arbnori, Assembly Deputy Chairmen Malasi and Vukaj, other deputies, representatives of various political parties, government members, etc., Arbnori and Cindoruk left Rinas and headed for Durres. [passage omitted]

During a 30-minute conversation at a Durres villa, Arbnori and Cindoruk exchanged opinions on various issues regarding the economic and political developments in both countries and the situation in the Balkan region. Arbnori pointed out that Albania's steps in the past two years of democracy are very obvious. The successes are good, but our concerns and woes have not still been resolved.

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Arbnori spoke about the main tendency of the Albanian economy—that is, the market economy—through privatization in various economic sectors. He briefed the Turkish colleague on the work of the Albanian Parliament to discuss bills and pass many laws, stressing that the main goal is to endorse the constitution.

Speaking of the situation in the Balkan region, Pjeter Arbnori stressed that stability in Albania, Turkey, and other countries, as well as friendship between these peoples, are a basic factor for stability in the entire region.

Arbnori also thanked Mr. Cindoruk for his assistance in Albania's continuous integration into the Parliamentary Assembly of the Black Sea countries.

For his part, Cindoruk highly assessed the Turkish-Albanian friendship as having deep and firm roots and traditional and spiritual ties. The Albanian nation is Turkey's friend and brother, Cindoruk said. He assessed Albania's choice toward the new road of democracy. We are aware that no regime in the world can work wonders by resolving all the problems in a short time, he said. [passage omitted]

Cindoruk Meets Meksi

TA0708070994 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 2130 GMT 6 Aug 94

[Text] Husamettin Cindoruk, speaker of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, has met with Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi. At the meeting, Cindoruk said work on the Durres-Skopje-Sofia-Istanbul highway project, which will join east to west, will start as soon as possible. Turkey will assist Albania in obtaining the credit required for this project, Cindoruk said.

Meksi, in turn, said this visit will expand the cooperation between the two countries. Cindoruk also met with the chairman and members of the People's Assembly Foreign Policy Committee and will meet with Albania's President Dr. Sali Berisha tomorrow.

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BSP Plenum Passes Resolution on Early Elections

AU0508133994 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 2 Aug 94 p 5

[Resolution issued by the Bulgarian Socialist Party Supreme Council and Socialist deputies on holding early parliamentary elections in Sofia on 29 July]

[Text] The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] expresses its alarm over the continuing profound economic crisis, which may lead to even more serious consequences in the social sector and the intellectual climate of society and subject the majority of the population to trials that they will find hard to bear.

The crisis of confidence in the institutions of state and the political parties is deepening. Confidence in parliament and the government has reached a critical low point. Unless the country goes to the polls, as a result of the worsening of the crisis, in the coming months high social tension may arise that will prove difficult to control. We may find ourselves facing not merely disillusionment with the present state bodies and parties, but also distrust of the established political model and of democracy itself.

Bulgaria needs a new policy, a more representative and effective parliament, and a more responsible and efficient government. This is impossible to achieve without holding new parliamentary elections.

We Bulgarian Socialists have no illusions that, even with a change of government following the elections, we can manage, quickly and without hardship, to overcome the consequences of the manner in which the transition is being implemented in Bulgaria at the moment. However, the BSP is prepared, as well as undertaking urgent stabilization and anti-crisis measures, to begin conducting a new policy that rejects the previous transition model, develops the economic reform, halts the economic decline, and leads to revival and growth—with a view to reducing the social cost of the transition.

In conformance with the resolutions of the 41st BSP Congress, the Supreme Council and the Socialist deputies resolve as follows:

1. In September 1994 the Executive Bureau of the BSP Supreme Council is to submit to the Supreme Council drafts for an election campaign platform and a specific program for solving the following acute problems:

—halting the destructive trends in the economy, especially in agriculture;

—creating the legal and economic conditions for restoring the national economy and reviving production;

—implementing privatization in conformance with the country's long-term economic interests and the state's economic policy, with the participation of the creators of our national wealth;

—combating poverty;

—reducing unemployment;

—preventing the collapse of health care, education, science, and culture;

—reducing crime and corruption;

—strengthening national security and the stability of the Armed Forces;

—halting the trend for the central executive power to expropriate the resources and functions of local authorities and creating the necessary conditions and guarantees for strengthening local self-government; and

—preserving civil peace and national cohesion.

2. The Executive Bureau of the BSP Supreme Council and the leadership of the PSSD [Parliamentary Union for Social Democracy] are to organize negotiations to achieve a left-of-center agreement and ensuring political cooperation on this basis following the elections.

3. In the course of these talks, the BSP representatives are to propose a mixed electoral system [proportional and majority] that will stimulate cooperation in the election campaign between kindred parties. At the beginning of the autumn session of parliament, the BSP is to submit a draft electoral law embodying these principles.

4. The BSP leadership is to hold political consultations with other parties and state institutions to try to reach an agreement on early parliamentary elections.

5. Regardless of whether such an agreement is reached, if the government fails to observe the mandate that it was given to serve until September 1994, the BSP through its Socialist deputies will institute the necessary measures in parliament, in accordance with the Constitution, to fulfill the intention that it declared to the public and its own members to ensure the holding of elections in the autumn. The BSP and PSSD leaderships are to do what is necessary to prevent the formation of another government during the present parliament that will block the holding of early parliamentary elections.

6. The BSP is to take action to restore legality and self-government in the municipalities and districts of the large towns of Sofia, Plovdiv, and Varna. Elections are to be held in these towns, under the present administrative-territorial division system, simultaneously with the early parliamentary elections.

The BSP is consistent in its desire for a national consensus. For this reason, we support a national coalition government following the elections. At the same time, we will show no hesitation, if called upon to form a one-party government, in justifying the vote of confidence in our proposed policies that we receive from the electorate.

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BSP Leader Videnov on Goals, Early Elections

AU0508153394 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 1 Aug 94 pp 1,4

[Interview with Zhan Videnov, chairman of the BSP Supreme Council, by Lyubcho Ivanov on Mount Buzludzha on 30 July: "Socialist Leader Ready To Take Over Berov's Seat"]

[Text] [Ivanov] Mr. Videnov, what did the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] plenum decide last night, and will elections be held in Bulgaria this autumn?

[Videnov] Yes, they will be held, as far as this depends on the BSP! However, it does not only depend on us. I say this because I detect an increasing fear of holding early parliamentary elections this autumn among the other political parties, including the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces]. The fears are not only felt in their parliamentary group, which is understandable, but they are steadily increasing within the SDS leadership. This is no accident, because a BSP victory is not a foregone conclusion, although we will do everything possible to achieve it, but the resounding defeat of the SDS is already more than certain.

In two weeks time, we will invite the public to study the new BSP ideological program, which will be adopted by an all-party referendum two months later. In September, the BSP will make its election campaign offer and will make every effort to achieve a left-of-center agreement. This is because our country needs the unity of the left. Accordingly, all of us—Socialists, Social Democrats, left-wing agrarians, patriots, and defenders of the people's trade union, social, and ecological rights—should work to achieve this unity.

However, regardless of everything, we will not retreat from the idea that the country needs a change through elections. I do not know whether the other political forces will remain true to this worthy position so as to win the confidence of society, but in my view anyone who deviates from this path is making a major mistake!

[Ivanov] Is the BSP prepared to take on the government of the country single-handed this time, or might you seek to form a coalition?

[Videnov] National consensus has been our credo from the start of the transition until now. We will do our utmost to seek a broad coalition and public support in the forthcoming very difficult years of crisis and trials resulting from the transition. However, if the voters' mandate and the desire of the other political parties are for a one-party government, this does not frighten us.

[Ivanov] Do your party's files already contain plans for a one-party socialist government?

[Videnov] No! We have not even discussed this issue yet. The more likely possibility is a stable, long-lasting, and successful left-of-center administration. We are there for leaving this issue to be discussed during the talks with prospective election or pre-election partners. This is easily decided when we have a clear understanding regarding the election campaign platforms, goodwill regarding the government's program, and when no one nurtures any sick daydreams.

[Ivanov] Do the BSP's internal plans envisage the possibility of you yourself leading a future government?

[Videnov] Yes, why not? Other possibilities also exist, of course. I consider that the Polish model of transition, which I recently saw with my own eyes, is also not bad. According to their model, smaller and more centrist parties head governments supported by the more powerful left-wing groupings. On the other hand, of course, a broad coalition of the kind that is being tried out in Hungary at the moment would suit our country best, and I would be glad if one was formed, although I think it very unlikely at the moment.

Views Role of Balkan Left Wing

AU0608144794 Sofia NOVINI 5 in Bulgarian 30 Jul 94 pp 1,2

[Article by Zhan Videnov, chairman of Supreme Council of Bulgarian Socialist Party, BSP: "Under the Conditions of Transition We Must Unleash the Entire Democratic Surge of the Left Alternative"]

[Text] States in the modern sense of the word have existed on the Balkan Peninsula for over a century and a half. Many examples of upsurge and decline, of hopes and distress, of peaceful development, and military conflicts, of democratic trends and totalitarian dictatorships could be cited in the stormy and varied history of each of these states. Throughout all periods of their development, however, the left-wing forces have played a considerable role in those countries' public and political life, and have greatly contributed to their social progress, to meeting the challenges of the epoch. The Balkans are passing through an important period of transition today. I mean the Balkans as a whole, as a region, and as individual, independent states whose number has recently doubled, but whose problems have infinitely increased. The Balkans have long since been known as a hotbed of tension on the continent, as one of Europe's most controversial challenges. Nevertheless, Europe has recently also emerged as a challenge for the Balkans. This challenge manifests itself in the intense aspiration for Europeization, for adherence to the democratic standards of the European socioeconomic system, for multilateral and bilateral relations with the Western European countries, for a higher living standard and cultural development.

The left-wing forces should also make their contribution to this trend. The left in the Balkan countries, which is one of the basic sociopolitical forces and factors of the Balkans, is called upon and obliged to search for and find appropriate solutions for the traditional and the newly emerging problems, such as those related to overcoming

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the current socioeconomic difficulties, to a peaceful and civilized solution of ethnic-national conflicts, and other issues.

Specific is the responsibility of our party, namely of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], as one of the great political parties of the new left in the Balkans.

The current transition period in Eastern Europe can be defined as a dramatic process. It is of an all-European and worldwide importance. Over the last four years it appeared that it the transition cannot possibly be implemented without a broad social consensus, without the participation of the left. The recent elections in Lithuania, in Poland, and Hungary significantly raised the question about the specific nature of the new left-wing trend, namely, whether it means a left storm? Serious analysts and politicians perfectly realize that the election victory of any post-communist party whatsoever does not mean re-communization and neither leads to the restoration of the coercive methods of a planned economy, nor to the abolition of democracy. Such restoration is rejected by the successor-parties as well as by the public in the relevant countries. The Eastern European left-wing parties today have the opportunity of independently developing their own national strategies. The most important things which they should consider are the following: In the first place, they should determine the parameters and instruments of the left-wing alternative in the transition period. In the second place, they should assume their own national responsibility and adopt their own national policy rather than imitating alien models, and they must reject those solutions which might produce good results in other countries, but are totally inappropriate for the domestic conditions of their own homeland. The successor parties are perfectly capable of selecting their own path of development, and they should do so. Their methods should be conform with their own historical, political, and socioeconomic conditions. The parties should pursue a line based on the needs, worries, expect ions, and hopes of their peoples, they should commit themselves to a broad social consensus.

The BSP is expected to develop its own pragmatic policy, based on nationwide responsibility and on the values of the left. Our party is called upon to protect the poor, the socially underprivileged, and the oppressed strata of society.

The left-wing parties are not and cannot be parties of restoration or of political nostalgia. Under the conditions of the transition we should unleash the entire democratic surge of the left alternative, because the socialist idea is viable only when it develops upon the fruitful soil of a democratic social system. This shall be our contribution to the joint efforts of the European left-wing forces for developing and implementing a new left program for our continent. Along with the efforts of politicians and statesmen for the solution of the aforementioned and other important problems, we should take into consideration the essential role and importance of the scholars with their original thoughts and views, with their unconventional methods, with their new ideas, and with their competent evaluations. They are capable of really contributing to meet the Balkan challenge and to give a chance to the new left in the purpose of finding effective methods and instruments aimed at mastering the situation and at implementing their goals.

RDP Leader Cited on Dimitrov, SDS Leadership

AU0508143094 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 1 Aug 94 p 1

[STANDART NEWS staff report: "Aleksandur Yordanov Takes Up Arms Against Filip Dimitrov"]

[Text] The actions of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] National Coordinating Council are quite insane, Aleksandur Yordanov, chairman of the RDP [Radical Democratic Party], stated on Bulgarian National Television. He called upon Yordan Vasilev and the other "gray cardinals" behind the scenes who dream about a "blue [SDS] party" "to sit on their backsides" and start thinking sensibly.

This is the first time that Aleksandur Yordanov, who is a member of the National Coordinating Council and the SDS parliamentary group, has criticized the leader of the blue coalition so sharply. Last week, the National Coordinating Council suspended the council membership of the largest member party, the Democratic Party, and the SDS deputies dissociated themselves from their colleagues' actions. According to Yordanov, the conflicts within the SDS are being created artificially. It is high time for Filip Dimitrov, the entire coalition leadership, and the salaried apparatus of the national coordination organization to assume responsibility for a series of failures, local election defeats, and the breakup of SDS structures throughout the country.

The RDP has no intention of leaving the SDS and strongly protests against the brutal act of suspending the membership of the Democratic Party. However, the party will reconsider its position if the SDS becomes a union of friendly factions, Yordanov told the RDP National Council. In his view, the aims of the parliamentary boycott have been supplanted and it has become a means of settling accounts with individual parties and personalities. The pseudo- revolutionary acts of certain left-of-center organizations in the coalition and the Bolshevik methods and style of the leadership of the National Coordinating Council have no place in a democratic formation, he said.

New DEMOKRATSIYA Chief Editor Named

AU0508123094 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 2 Aug 94 p 2

[Report by Sonya Konstantinova]

[Text] At a meeting yesterday, the Demokratsiya Publishing Syndicate decided to appoint Ivo Indzhev as

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editor in chief of the DEMOKRATSIYA daily. The former chief of BTA and the EKSPRES daily will draft a new concept for the daily by 5 September. The previous editor in chief, Panayot Denev, known as "my friend Pancho," submitted his resignation on Friday, 29 July, following a stormy meeting during which the syndicate explained to him the newspaper's priorities. Denev's three deputies resigned at the same time. In a letter addressed to BTA they accuse the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] of leftist sectarian deviation. The daily's new leadership is expected to replace all the newspaper's political section staff.

Radical Democrat Mikhail Nedelchev spoke against the overhasty change of editor, while the representatives of the Bulgarian Democratic Forum abstained from voting. People close to the SDS National Coordinating Council remark that P. Denev was singled out by F.D.'s [Filip Dimitrov's] people a month ago, and, despite Asen Agov's praise of him, has been replaced by the back stabbers. Denev himself asserts that he resigned because of his dissent on matters of principle with both Stefan Savov's supporters and the National Coordinating Council, and because he disagreed with the disastrous economic policy followed by the Demokratsiya Agency.

Despite rumors that Vasil Stanilov and Georgi Ifandiev would apply for the editorship in addition to Indzhev, the syndicate only discussed his candidacy. I do not apply for work, I only take a job if I am invited, Indzhev told journalists. He blamed the communists for the frequent staff changes in the newspaper and for certain failures suffered by the SDS press.

Contrary to the rumors that she was also to join DEMOKRATSIYA, Neven Kopandanova, the former editor in chief of OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK, is leaving for the United States on a one-year training trip.

Editors Explain Resignations

AU0508134194 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 2 Aug 94 p 1

["Why We Are Leaving DEMOKRATSIYA"]

[Text] Owing to profound disagreements in principle with both the group surrounding Stefan Savov and the group around Filip Dimitrov that calls itself the National Coordinating Council, as a result of insoluble dissensions with the Demokratsiya Publishing Syndicate, and because of my disgust with the disastrous business activity of the Demokratsiya Agency, I apply for my labor contract to work as editor in chief of the DEMOKRATSIYA newspaper to be annulled as of 1 August 1994.

[Signed] Panayot Denev.

We believe in the political orientation that normal societies are accustomed to call right-wing. We do not believe in political activity that disguises leftist political behavior with a cloak of right-wing demagogy. We believe in values such as the free development and expression of the individual, the independence and enterprise of the owner, personal morality, the family, and religion. We do not believe in conducting intrigues under the guise of showing anxious concern, in simulation concealed by fine sounding phrases, or in a Komsomol-type mentality and methods of action dolled up to look like political action in a democratic society. When 75 percent of Bulgarians are against communism and only 15 percent support the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] political coalition, we do not believe that this coalition can describe itself as anything else than left-wing and sectarian. We cannot work for a newspaper that is ordered to serve the needs of this left-wing sectarian organization.

[Signed] Vladimir Karakashov, Mariya Velkovska, Mikaela Vuzharova.

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Lux Discusses Recent Government 'Problems'

AU0508185794 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Aug 94 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Josef Lux, Czech deputy prime minister and chairman of the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party, KDU-CSL, by Jiri Kouda; place and date not given: "Klaus Has Not Come To Check on Me"]

[Text] [Kouda] Your time as acting prime minister will expire on 6 August. What was the most serious problem you had to face during these 14 days?

[Lux] The experience I collected in my office gradually hardened me before I took over the duties of the vacationing government representatives—the prime minister and the president. In addition to signing some bills, I had to supervise the preparations for the 3 August Cabinet session. The most important item was the request by President Clinton, who asked for assistance for Rwanda. I believe it is significant that we received the letter on Monday afternoon, consulted with the prime minister and the president, and held a conference with representatives of the Defense and Foreign Ministries the same day. At the same time, I have decided on humanitarian help. Thus, the Czech Republic became one of the first countries, after to the United States and France, to express its solidarity through actual deeds.

[Kouda] Nevertheless, it was a response to the letter from President Clinton. Would it not have been better if the Czech Republic had come out with this initiative earlier and on its own?

[Lux] Some material for work in Rwanda had been prepared at the Foreign Ministry. It is true that the letter from President Clinton was an important signal.

[Kouda] You have kept in touch with Messrs. Havel and Klaus during this period. How do you communicate with them?

[Lux] The Office of the President or the prime minister would be quite bad if I had no contact with them. The means is quite prosaic—by telephone and radio.

[Kouda] Last week, on Thursday, Prime Minister Klaus suddenly appeared in Prague. Was it a bit of a check on how you were doing?

[Lux] It was not a surprise visit. It had been arranged beforehand. It was not a check. The fact that there were no problems means that we are a stable country. The occasional chairing of the Cabinet session, when I have the honor of substituting for the prime minister, is usually more dramatic than it was over the past two weeks.

[Kouda] More dramatic in what way?

[Lux] In the content of the debate.

[Kouda] I know that you asked certain ministers to complement the agenda for the government session. So, what is on the agenda?

[Lux] There are about 30 items on the agenda, but it will have to be reduced. I am drafting a report on the state of Czech agriculture, which will include a recommendation that must be commented on by the fellow ministers, particularly the finance minister. The measures should also be there, which the government will take regarding the self-administration—it is a motion by Mr. Kalvoda (Civic Democratic Alliance).

We will also discuss our next steps regarding Rwanda. There are the bill on nonprofit organizations and the energy bill on the agenda. The economic problems of Czech zoos will also be discussed.

[Kouda] Zdenek Klanica, deputy chairman of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, declared recently that good cooperation in the local elections is shaping up with the People's Party in southern Moravia. Vaclav Benda, Christian Democratic Party [KDS] deputy chairman, allowed communists on their slate. Will you also act like that?

[Lux] I would separate the preelection and the postelection situations. We do not want communists on our slates; however, there will be independent candidates. Another matter is that, in small communities, we might cooperate with all people after the elections, and I admit that even putting together a slate might be a problem in some places. All kinds of compromises might have to be met just to put it together. In such an instance, however, it will not be our slate.

[Kouda] Representatives of your party promise that, if the KDU-CSL [Christian and Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party] formed a coalition, the KDS would rank number-one. How would you respond if they had a communist on their slate?

[Lux] That is pure speculation, and it would have to be dealt with at a specific place.

[Kouda] Antonin Baudys is a member of your party and, at the same time, is the minister of defense. Would you not agree that various instances, including the most recent one, when the Defense Ministry was concealing petty theft and the sentencing of General Barta in Sweden, go beyond the tolerance of the public? Mr. Klaus commented on this to the effect that, given the tense situation in the coalition, he will not recall Baudys, which leaves the decision to you.

[Lux] I will not comment on this issue before I discuss it with Minister Baudys.

[Kouda] Nevertheless, ODA [Civic Democratic Party] Deputy Chairman Ledvinka declared that, if the information, including the case of the shot through airplane, is damaging to the defense minister, they would consider coalition talks on this topic.

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[Lux] Of course, any coalition party has the right to propose any topic for discussion, and we are willing to talk.

[Kouda] Certain speculation exists regarding negative relations between you and Baudys. Could it be that you do not wish to comment precisely because of this speculation?

[Lux] Speculation neither deters nor motivates me. This is wishful thinking on the part of some people. I simply consider it to be decent conduct if I do not comment on the issue until I have discussed it in detail with Minister Baudys. It is the only feasible solution.

[Kouda] Last weekend, you said in the context of the Sudeten German issue that the border of 1948 is inviolable for you. The coalition 11 have discussed this problem, and the public was not informed officially. It is not surprising then that concerns arise regarding the obfuscated approach of the coalition to this sensitive issue. What leads the coalition to such a silence, and why does it not state clearly and briefly what the coalition intends or does not intend to do?

[Lux] First, it is not true that there are no Czech-German talks being conducted. They are taking place on all levels, and a part of these talks is also the question of the Sudeten Germans. In my opinion, it is necessary to strive for a clear formulation from the vantage point of the Czech Government, so that no doubts arise regarding the stand—that we will not go back beyond February 1948—and all hopes on the part of the Sudeten Germans are quashed and the concerns of some people in the Republic are dispelled. This is the position I maintain in the Cabinet.

[Kouda] Nevertheless, I ask why this question is veiled in silence like the already mentioned coalition 11?

[Lux] Debates on foreign policy, particularly within the framework of an internal coalition discussion, cannot be completely exposed. Nonetheless, I am convinced that the outcome of further discussions on the level of this coalition should reveal and dispel all the concerns. Some kind of a communique could be useful for the next time.

[Kouda] Are there partners in the coalition who would be willing to consider crossing this limit of 1948 or abrogating some of the Benes decrees?

[Lux] Here I must state clearly that no, they are not. The consensus in the coalition is unequivocal. Any discussions of abrogating the Benes decrees are completely out of the question, and the limit of 1948 cannot be crossed.

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Moravcik on Signing Basic Treaty With Hungary

LD0508164594 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 5 Aug 94

[Excerpts] The international agreement on good-neighborly relations and friendly cooperation should mark a turn toward better relations between Slovakia and Hungary. Both governments are interested in submitting this basic treaty to their respective parliaments for ratification this year. The preparatory work has started. Commissions of experts from both countries met on 2 August for the first joint negotiations in Budapest. However, the Slovak opposition is of the opinion that the government does not have a moral or political mandate to conclude this basic treaty. Anna Samelova opened her interview with Slovak Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik by asking about this mandate.

[Begin recording] [Moravcik] Every government that enjoys parliamentary trust has a full mandate. This is stated in the Constitution. I think the most important point here is purely technical. The preparation of this treaty really requires a great deal of discussion. [passage omitted] This treaty should be the basic means for creating an atmosphere of trust that is absent from bilateral relations. It is likely that there will not be enough time to have the treaty ready by the end of September.

[Samelova] This was said by Slovak Foreign Minister Eduard Kukan on 4 August. From what you said, is it possible to draw the conclusion that your intention is to prepare properly, technically, the text of this agreement for the next government?

[Moravcik] The settling of our bilateral relations is a longer term process. In my view, the basic problem between our countries lies in distrust that has developed historically between our countries, and on both sides. It is not possible to counter this distrust within a short time. We have to do a lot to remove this distrust, to face each other as good neighbors. What is required is time, great effort, political engagement, trying to convince, and so on.

[Samelova] Mr. Prime Minister, you talk of historical distrust between the Hungarian and Slovak nations. Permit me to return to the distrust that prevails on the Slovak internal political scene. The opposition bloc is not the only one to come up with warning signals against the conclusion of this treaty by your government. Even the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] does not recommend conclusion of this treaty before the elections, or, rather, it does not recommend your government to conclude this treaty. Does it mean that there is a difference within the coalition on this issue?

[Moravcik] No, we have not registered any contradiction. At the last meeting of the Coalition Council, we dealt also with the preparations for the meeting with Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn, and I briefed the participants in a similar way as now. There are no differences.

[Samelova] Could you say at least theoretically when you think the coordination talks in respect of this basic treaty with Hungary will be concluded?

[Moravcik] It is difficult to say when. I think the treaty could be ready by the fall.

[Samelova] This is a diplomatic answer. Permit me to ask for a more precise date. Do you expect it before 4 October or after 4 October?

[Moravcik] We will try to have it ready earlier, but we do not have any guarantees, nor do we want to conclude the process at all costs only to have it done by us. Irrespective of who is in the next government, and governments change, this is a far greater matter that concerns relations between two Central European countries that must live in peace and according to the principles of good-neighborly relations in the interest of Pan-European stability.

[Samelova] Let us end with the question of whether you expect as a lawyer and not only as a prime minister that the basic treaty with Hungary that you are preparing will be ratifiable by any Slovak parliament, whatever its composition.

[Moravcik] It will be a bad treaty if it could not be ratified. It will mean that corrections will have to be made. We have to work on this treaty transcending the time factor. Matters relating to the present or future coalition or government are unimportant matters. There is much more at issue here. It means that we have to look at bilateral relations really from a long-term perspective. [end recording]

Ministers Discuss Minorities

LD0508180294 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 5 Aug 94

[Excerpts] We start with a despatch from Bratislava. It transpired at the meeting between the Slovak and Hungarian prime ministers that there are still big differences of opinion on the issue of the minorities. The stances have to come closer together before the bilateral treaty is concluded. Our correspondent Ildiko Nagy reports from the Slovak capital.

[Nagy] There was clear progress on the issue of bilateral economic relations. On the matter of Gabcikovo, both sides consider the examination of alternative solutions possible.

But, on the most sensitive point of the basic treaty, determining nationality rights, there are considerable differences. Furthermore, today it was not even possible to talk about a rapprochement between the stances, despite the fact that both prime ministers described today's talks as very constructive.

One of the purposes of the talks was to quell the tension that exists between the two countries and to create the atmosphere of confidence necessary for further discussions, something they both agreed on. [passage omitted]

In the interest of closer economic cooperation, the possibility was also raised of setting up a Hungarian-Slovak economic chamber and a joint bank.

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A verbal agreement was reached on the phased opening of border-crossing stations; the first will occur next week and the other two in gradual stages.

Regarding Gabcikovo, Hungary sees two solutions: either the possibility of a sluice at Dunakiliti must be examined at the level of experts as soon as possible, or the transfer of water flow must be increased to 50 cubic meters per second at Cunovo and to 20 cubic meters per second in the Mosoni Danube. The Slovak side is also willing to discuss these solutions.

As for the basic treaty, this is a long-term target and a means for resolving bilateral relations, Gyula Horn said. However, in no way can it be used in the Slovak election campaign, and, although they would like it, one cannot expect it to be signed within a few weeks.

On the most sensitive point of the treaty, minority rights, the stances did not come closer for the time being. The Hungarian side, in fact, is insisting on individual and community rights, as well as on autonomy for the self-administration of the minorities, while the Slovak side is of the view that these things cannot be reconciled with the basic principles of a civic society and that the minority issue has to be approached as a series of specific issues, such as education and language.

Tough work will be needed for these divergent views to be brought closer to one another. However, according to State Secretary Csaba Tabajdi, the differences are not unbridgeable.

Statement on Progress of Talks

LD0508200194 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 5 Aug 94

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Announcer] Jan Baranek was present at the news conference given by the two prime ministers and brings us more details.

[Baranek] Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn spoke at the opening of the news conference. He assessed the talks on behalf of the Hungarian side. He said that the normalization of relations between our countries was the reason for the visit to Slovakia. He said there was a certain tension in these relations and that it was necessary to find a joint solution to reduce this tension. It was, therefore, necessary to create an atmosphere of trust. The agreement on good-neighborly relations and cooperation and the ensuring of minority rights should especially serve this purpose. The issue of Gabcikovo must also be dealt with. Last but not least, the agreement on the expansion of cultural relations should help to improve relations. Good-neighborly relations may speed up the process of joining the European Union.

He said that it was important that no negative trends aimed at disturbing mutual relations appeared in the Slovak election campaign. The Hungarian side believes that every realistically minded politician is interested in good relations with Hungary.

As for the basic treaty, the experts' talks were constructive, and the Hungarian side considers this treaty to be the basic instrument for settling mutual relations. A system of further agreements should be built on the basis of this treaty.

It must be underlined at this point that we consider our common borders inviolable and that we have no territorial claims against each other, Horn said.

The Hungarian prime minister went on to touch on the issues of ethnic minorities' rights and stressed the possibility of ensuring opportunities in culture, education, and state administration for Hungarians living in Slovakia and Slovaks in Hungary. The minorities' rights must be anchored in writing. It is not possible to join European structures without giving guarantees of minorities' rights.

As for Gabcikovo, he said that the solution to this problem had not yet been found. The final assessment of the issue must be given by The Hague International Court. At present, the saving of Small Rye Island [Maly Zitny Ostrov] is a priority. Gabcikovo will be discussed by the two sides' experts. The Hungarian Government has authorized him to present two variants of the solution to the present situation: increasing the water flow in the Danube branches by 20 to 50 cubic meters per second and, second, opening the dam in Dunakiliti.

Gyula Horn then underlined the importance of the development of economic cooperation and the possibility of setting up a new Slovak-Hungarian bank and a commercial-industrial chamber that could make use of Hungary's greater experience in banking.

After this, Slovak Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik took the floor.

[Begin Moravcik recording] I appreciate the very constructive and pragmatic approach of the Hungarian delegation, which contributed to the positive results of our talks.

As for particular issues, we, too, consider the two republics' basic treaty on good-neighborly relations as very important, especially for the creation of an atmosphere of trust. Without this trust, it is not possible to make any more marked progress in our relations.

We see the conclusion of the treaty, including all basic issues incorporated in it, within the framework of our European policy. If we manage to construct the basic treaty within this framework, there will be a reason for our optimism, there will be a basis for us to be successful in drafting and completing the treaty soon. [end recording]

[Baranek] The prime minister then went on to speak about the issue of borders and ethnic minorities, in which substantial progress was achieved. However, the differences in the understanding of collective and individual rights remain. However, the issue of ethnic minorities is a European issue and future talks of experts will result in a solution acceptable to both sides.

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As for the drafting and conclusion of the basic treaty, he said that he would like it to be concluded within the space defined by the Stability Pact.

Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik talked about Gabcikovo, too.

[Begin Moravcik recording] We are ready to hold experts' talks on both variants proposed by the Hungarian side. As for the dam in Dunakiliti, we have suggested that yet another solution to this problem could be considered—namely, the construction of a small sluice upstream from the area where, according to the original plan in Dunakiliti, a sluice was to be constructed. It is up to the experts to assess the variant that could best, in the shortest possible time and with regard to economic aspects, help in resolving the ecological problems.

As for our basic approach to the whole system of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydro project, this has not changed. This means that dealing with this issue means we are dealing only with a particular partial problem. As for the basic approach, neither side has changed its stance. This means that the conflict should be resolved by The Hague International Court. [end recording]

[Baranek] [passage omitted] Both prime ministers denied reports of secret talks on Gabcikovo. Neither of the prime ministers believes that the basic treaty can be signed during this term of office. [passage omitted]

People From South Warn of 'Magyarization'

AU0508132094 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 1 Aug 94 pp 1-2

[Article by Jergus Ferko: "A Warning From Surany—Administrative Magyarization Is Advancing in the South"]

[Text] Surany—Hundreds of Slovaks from southern Slovakia packed themselves into the Matica Slovenska [Slovak Heritage Foundation] House in Surany yesterday afternoon for their seventh meeting since November. They had come here to voice their concerns again about the continuing policy of acquiescing to the demands of Hungarian politicians, whose aim is to achieve autonomy. Those present gave an enthusiastic welcome to the speakers as they arrived, especially to I. Gasparovic, chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, Matica Slovenska Chairman J. Markus, and Slovak National Party [SNS] Chairman J. Slota. There were other familiar faces, too: E. Kristinova, J. Prokes, R. Hofbauer, J. Darmo, B. Kunc, V. Oberhauser, M. Bielik, I. Chamula, V. Moric, J. Ambrusova, J. Smolec.... The meeting began with the singing of the Slovak national anthem.

In her introductory speech, E. Garajova said that Slovaks from southern Slovakia have not been sounding the alarm for nothing: "This year has shown that we were absolutely right. Our Hungarian politicians have long concealed and distorted their intentions, but this year they made them clear. In Komarno on 8 January, they declared openly for the first time that, in the region stretching from Bratislava to Ukraine, the half-million Hungarians and Romanies will guarantee the rights of the Slovaks, twice as many of whom live here." The Hungarian coalition has reason to be satisfied—namely, the opinion of the southern Slovaks has not reached the Slovak parliament or president.

Matica Slovenska Secretary S. Bajanik emphasized that the current governing coalition is taking concrete steps toward introducing collective rights and autonomy, and he mentioned several cases where the so-called registers and signost laws are already being abused. The National Council did not respect the fundamental demand from Matica Slovenska that the transliteration of the official language into the language of the minority be used in the foreign-language designation of communities; the issue unequivocally involves renaming the communities, although Prime Minister J. Moravcik denies this. (After all, what else is it if Zlate Klasy is also called Nagymagyar?). It is objectionable that, in recent months, the Slovak parliament has found time on three occasions to debate the Hungarian linguistic demands but has not found time even once to settle the linguistic chaos by adopting a necessary and fundamental law on the state language (Matica is the coauthor of the draft submitted recently).

Supplicants in Our Own State

It is sad that we are still only supplicants in our own state, and ignored supplicants, at that, said Matica Chairman J. Markus in his speech. Matica is opposed not to the signpost law but to the principles on which this recently approved law is based. According to J. Markus, a change of name should be subject to a local referendum that would require the agreement of 90 percent of the inhabitants. If 10 percent of Hungarians have sovereign rights, 10 percent of Slovaks must also have these same rights, he added by way of an explanation.

With the Blessing of the President and the Prime Minister

E. Garajova made another speech, in which she analyzed the events of recent months. The situation surrounding the interstate treaty being drafted with Hungary—according to M. Duray, "it cannot be signed without the agreement of the 600,000-strong (!) Hungarian minority, and it must take into consideration its demands for self-administration and autonomy"—is becoming dangerous. The Hungarian politicians want to use this treaty to fulfill their old-new political program. E. Garajova added: "It is often the case in our country that the Slovaks believe and the Hungarians act. (...) We have to rid ourselves of our subservient complexes and behave in a manner befitting the representatives of a sovereign state." Founding political parties on ethnic principles is almost unthinkable in the rest of the world, but, in our country, only those who campaigned for Hungarian parties after 1989 can campaign for the Hungarian coalition in the current elections—that is, those who were always Hungarians first and then greens, reds, and so on. They are demanding a Hungarian diocese, they are chipping away at the teaching of Slovak in Hungarian schools, they are not holding church services in Slovak, they are Magyarizing street names, they are restoring the old Austro-Hungarian and Horthyite names,

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they are erecting monuments to Hungarian historical figures (although they made no secret of their anti-Slovak attitudes) all over the south, they are holding up the reform of Slovakia's territorial and administrative arrangement, and so on. This is bare-faced administrative Magyarization of southern Slovakia, with the blessing of the president, the current government, and parliament.

The Dissatisfaction in the South Has Been Whipped Up Artificially

The meeting was addressed by I. Gasparovic and J. Slota, who gave an assurance that the SNS will not abandon the southern Slovaks. A letter of greetings from J. Binder was also read aloud. Former Minister R. Hofbauer focussed attention on the coalition's attempt to privatize the key power-generating and gas facilities, which he described as a direct threat to the Slovak Republic's sovereignty.

The meeting approved the 4th Memorandum of Slovaks From Southern Slovakia and a letter to Hungarian Ambassador J. Boross, in which they point out to him the deliberate politicization of the ethnic issue and the inadmissible elevation of the ethnic principle in politics. Slovaks from the south cannot agree with demands that go beyond European legal norms and endanger the social stability of our south, but, at the same time, they feel that these tendencies have the support of the Republic of Hungary.

The meeting also approved a proclamation from Slovaks to ethnic Hungarian citizens, in which they warn them that they are becoming the objects of political manipulation. Not once have ethnic Hungarian citizens shown any dissatisfaction with the conditions for ethnic coexistence in southern Slovakia.

The meeting officially came to an end with the singing of the hymn "Whoever Yearns for Truth," after which, however, the discussion continued. It involved participants from throughout Slovakia. It was concluded by the Matica Slovenska chairman and one of the initiators of the meeting, A. Strycek, who, among other things, thanked the organizers, especially the director of the Matica Slovenska House in Surany, J. Steiner.

Memo Issued After Meeting

AU0508132394 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 1 Aug 94 p 2

["Fourth Memorandum of the Slovaks From Southern Slovakia" issued, following a meeting of southern Slovaks in Surany on 31 July]

[Text] We Slovaks living in the south of our homeland, being cognizant of the seriousness of the epoch and the social situation of the young Slovak Republic, adopt this Memorandum at our seventh meeting:

1. We address our opposition to the wording of the so-called registers and signpost laws to the Slovak Government, the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NR SR], and the Slovak president because the former severely impinges on the rules of grammar of the state language, the latter does not correspond to the demands for the transliteration of the official language into the language of the minority, and they have both laid the foundations for the so-called official autonomy of the Hungarian ethnic minority, which we see as the political starting point for the introduction of Hungarian autonomy on the sovereign territory of the Slovak Republic, autonomy already being endorsed by the representatives of the Hungarian political parties and movements.

2. We demand that the supreme state bodies respect our demands from previous Surany meetings and act in accordance with their recommendations, especially with regard to the state language and protecting the integrity of the Slovak Republic.

3. We demand that the supreme state bodies prevent the ethnic issue from becoming politicized, not allow minority parties and movements to have a decisive influence on the preparation of the interstate agreement between the Slovak and Hungarian Republics, and relentlessly assert the civic principle of coexistence on the territory of the Slovak Republic.

4. We demand that state bodies guarantee the Slovak Republic's indivisibility and territorial unity and prevent the implementation of collective rights for ethnic minorities, doubts being cast on the state borders, and the establishment of Hungarian autonomy on the territory where more than 1 million Slovaks live.

5. We demand that, in the interest of definitively resolving the language arrangement in Slovakia, the law on the state language of the Slovak Republic, which defines the rights and obligations of Slovak citizens with regard to the state language of the ethnic minorities on the territory of the Slovak Republic, be passed.

6. We append an emphatic warning addressed by the Matica Slovenska [Slovak Heritage Foundation] to the NR SR, the Slovak Government, and the Slovak president and an appeal to the citizens of Slovakia.

7. We appeal to the citizens of the Slovak Republic to take part—as many as possible—in the 1994 parliamentary elections and also to assume responsibility for future developments in the Slovak Republic.

Surany, 31 July 1994.

Egyutteles Criticizes Meeting

AU0508200194 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 3 Aug 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "They Have Condemned Surany"]

[Text] Egyutteles representatives have expressed a negative opinion on the Memorandum of Slovaks From Southern Slovakia adopted in Surany on 31 July. According to them, the spirit and contents of the events organized by the Matica Slovenska [Slovak Heritage

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Foundation] in southern Slovakia runs counter to European thinking and democracy. In reply to a question on why Egyutteles does not also support the interests of other ethnic minorities, its representatives said that the current political developments in the Slovak Republic are not creating sufficient conditions for the kind of cooperation they would like.

Moravcik on Arms Exports, Government Program

LD0508194794 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 5 Aug 94

["Regular Friday interview" with Slovak Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik by Anna Samelova; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Samelova] Slovakia is well known in the world for having an army that is disproportionately large, given the size of its territory and population, and perhaps this causes certain great problems—in quotation marks.

The British specialist journal JANE'S DEFENSE WEEKLY published figures concerning the illegal export of arms to the former Yugoslavia from 16 countries. The information was also used by the U.S. daily THE WASHINGTON TIMES. According to this source, Slovakia comes third after countries of the former Soviet Union and Germany in terms of breaking the arms embargo. THE WASHINGTON TIMES wrote that Slovakia exported arms worth approximately $170 million to Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. From statements by Defense Minister Pavol Kanis, representatives of the government licence commission, and the concerned Slovak arms manufacturers, it turns out that this is all false. All of them ruled out any participation by central state authorities in such transactions.

Mr. Prime Minister, is our mechanism for controlling the production and distribution of weapons so ineffective as to make it possible to export arms of such high value behind the back of the central authorities?

[Moravcik] We have a mechanism that is used throughout the world. I do not see a problem in the effectiveness of this mechanism, but we have checked, through our representations abroad, the situation surrounding these published figures. According to our sources, it is not possible to link the figures you quoted to breaking the embargo. For the embargo to be broken, there would have to be an expression of intent, and there was no such intent on the part of our side or our authorities.

It is possible that these figures were obtained by considering the origin of the weapons to be found in those territories, but our authorities have no means whatsoever to influence the transfer to the states of the former Yugoslavia weapons we have exported to other countries. From this point of view, therefore, these figures cannot be linked to decisions by our authorities, and I do not even think that the figures were published in this context. As far as the effectiveness of the mechanism is concerned, I do not consider that anything about it needs to be changed or, indeed, that any more effective mechanism exists. [passage omitted]

[Samelova] Mr. Prime minister, let us now turn from military arsenals to the political arsenal of your government. All post-November 1989 Slovak governments have suffered some kind of privatization syndrome. Your Cabinet, too, and, above all, your Cabinet, has declared that privatization must be open and honest and the criteria clear. However, to this day they have not been published. Is there some strategic interest in keeping such criteria secret?

[Moravcik] The only criteria governing the government's actions are in the government's program statement. No other criteria exist. Every privatized company is an individual case. These principles will be and are being applied in accordance with the specific circumstances of each company. No mysterious criteria exist. From this point of view, I have no information indicating that these principles of transparency are not being adhered to.

[Samelova] Mr. Prime Minister, you referred to the government's program statement. Given the relatively general nature of the criteria we have been talking about, certain voices have been heard talking about a similar, shall we say, wildness of privatization to that which you analyzed and criticized in the case of the previous government. As a lawyer, are you convinced that the government that takes over after you will not have to remedy your actions in the sphere of privatization?

[Moravcik] It is not the government's job to consider all the details that have to be incorporated in a project. The government does not judge the project as a whole; it merely judges the basic components necessary for a decision to be made. However, I have confidence in the Privatization Ministry and firmly believe that the projects meet all of the legal requirements, so that they will not have to be changed for legal reasons. As far as the other side is concerned—namely, effectiveness or usefulness—it is possible that one government might judge usefulness, effectiveness, or justification differently from another because I doubt that two people could have exactly the same view on such a complicated question as the privatization of a company. [passage omitted]

FR-SRS, SD Form Joint Electoral Bloc

AU0508195994 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 3 Aug 94 p 2

[Article by "(vg)": "Into the Elections With Social Democracy"]

[Text] The Forum of Workers-Party of Workers of Slovakia (FR-SRS) will go into the elections in a joint bloc with Social Democracy (SD), which was established after separating from the Social Democratic Party in Slovakia. According to Milan Klobucnik, first deputy chairman of the FR-SRS, the grouping will, on the basis of an agreement, bear the name Social Democracy.

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FR-SRS candidates campaigned in the elections two years ago on the slate of the Communist Party of Slovakia '91.

[Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak on 3 August on page 2 carries a 100-word TA SR report on the same subject. According to this report, "the leaders on the slate will be Frantisek Lady, Lubomir Sandtner, Jozef Minar, and Emil Kucerak. The joint slate with the SD was organized according to a ratio of 1:1."]

Republican Party Withdraws From Elections

AU0508195894 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 3 Aug 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "The Republicans Are Not Going Into the Elections"]

[Text] The Republican Party will not take part in the 1994 parliamentary elections. It withdrew its list of candidates, on which it had nominated 58 candidates throughout the electoral regions, on 1 August. Party representatives refused to comment on the reason for this step; however, they said that it is associated with the chairman of the local organization in Kosice.

Romany Bloc Enters Elections Alone

AU0608144694 Bratislava SME in Slovak 3 Aug 94 p 2

[Article by "bog": "The Romany Bloc Enters the 1994 Elections on Its Own"]

[Text] Bratislava—"It is not true that the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] offered us money and set conditions. The HZDS was the only body that told us openly and fairly that it would neither enter a coalition with us nor offer us any openings on its slate. We asked it for a loan of 50,000 korunas and a Favorit [car] for an all-Slovak conference," Jan Kompus, chairman of the Romany Civic Initiative, told us. This entity will enter the elections jointly with other Romany parties under the heading of the Romany Bloc. "We enter the elections as a bloc on our own," he emphasized. According to him, they also asked other better-off parties for a loan because they could not provide collateral for a bank loan. To the SME question of how they intended to repay the HZDS loan if they have no property as collateral, Gulnar, from the Party of the Integration of Romanies, replied that "we will return the 50,000 korunas after the elections" from the funds obtained for the votes. As stated by other representatives of the Romany Bloc, they are considering a collection for financing the election campaign or a request for a contribution to Romany entrepreneurs. They definitely rejected the calls from the representatives of other Romany parties, who just two weeks ago, among other things, declined the HZDS funds for the election campaign. Kompus described them as "traitors to the Romany people," who attempted "to break" the Romany conference in Kosice.

SNS Editor: We Are Not Anti-Semites

AU0508133294 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA (SNS supplement) in Slovak 2 Aug 94 p IV

[Statement by Miroslav Sasky, "until recently the editor responsible" for the Slovak National Party supplement: "We Are Not Anti-Semites"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] As far the little rhyme ["Life Without Soros: It is difficult to live in our country today if one is not a Jew"] is concerned, I am responsible for its publication. Neither the Slovak National Party [SNS] nor the SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA editorial office is responsible for it. I was given a free hand in preparing this supplement; no one censored the contributions I considered to be suitable. So, I am able to say: "Mea culpa, mea culpa, mea maxima culpa!" It is my mistake alone that this rhyme was published. I can only say in my defense that I considered it to be absolutely innocent and even witty. Few people doubt that the money from Soros, a U.S. millionaire of Jewish origin, goes to Jews. This is no secret, and it is, as a matter of fact, understandable. I had absolutely no idea that I would offend anyone. If this happened, I ask for their forgiveness. I should have realized that our society is far more sensitive to references to Jews, Hungarians, and Gypsies than any other. People immediately look for anti-Semitism, chauvinism, racism, or even fascism behind them. If the Scorpion's [The Scorpion's Political Note-Pad, the column in which the rhyme was published] observation had concerned English, French, Indians, or Arabs, no one would have taken exception to it. All of this is just to give you the whole picture, however. I know that it does not excuse me. It is not for nothing that they say "Look before you leap!"

So, once again, I apologize to everyone whom I may have offended and also to those for whom, although not intentionally, I have caused problems—the SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA editorial office and SNS representatives. From now on, the SNS press secretary will keep an eye on the ideological purity of the SNS supplement, and, perhaps, such lapses will not occur in the future. I can declare on my own behalf—and I venture to make the same claim on behalf of SNS representatives—that I harbor no hatred toward other nations, races, or religions. I am even convinced that it would be in the Slovak nation's interest to take as an example, for instance, Jewish solidarity as well as Hungarian national sentiment. [passage omitted] We do not want to oppress anyone in Slovakia. We want equal (but truly equal!) rights for all! Regardless of nationality, ethnicity, race, or religion. We are not anti-Semites, we are not "Czech-bashers," and we are not even "Magyar-eaters"! However, in no way can we agree with any minority enjoying privileges to the detriment of the state-forming nation.

[According to information carried on page III of the supplement, Miroslav Sasky is still the "editor responsible" for it.]

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Horn Interviewed on Economic Reforms, EU

BR0508144094 Paris LIBERATION in French 5 Aug 94 p 16

[Interview with Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn by Francois Sergent in Budapest; date not given: "Gyula Horn Waiting For a Sign from Europe"—first paragraph is LIBERATION introduction]

[Text] There are two images of Gyula Horn, the Hungarian prime minister since 15 July: One, the glorious image of the foreign minister who, in 1989, opened his country up to the Germans and thus helped bring about the collapse of the Berlin Wall; and another, much more ambiguous image of the communist apparatchik, a former soldier of 1956 and a faithful servant of Kadar's (ruler of Hungary from 1956 to 1992) Hungary. However, friend and foe alike agree on one point: Horn, who took over the leadership of his country at 61 years of age, is an exceptional politician. A powerful and ambitious man, in four years he was able to bring his Socialist Party, the direct descendant of the communists, from the margins of politics to a crushing victory in May. A hardened realist, he skillfully played on the feeling of nostalgia for the idealized communist past, while defending the values of the market economy and democracy. His latest stroke of genius was convincing the Liberal Party, made up of former dissidents, to join forces with his government, knowing that he would need the widest possible base to demand the sacrifices needed to reform the Hungarian economy.

[Sergent] Hungary is in an unstable region. Is there a risk of contagion?

[Horn] I would not say that there is any immediate and acute danger of contagion, but there has been a vacuum in the region since the old order passed away. That was a good thing, but nothing stepped in to take its place. The West did not come up with a suitable response and there is no regional cooperation, even though the crisis runs deep. New nation states have sprung up and, with them, the problem of minorities.

[Sergent] What can the Hungarian prime minister do to help the Hungarian minority mistreated by the Serbs in Vojvodina?

[Horn] Recently, both the Hungarian president and the foreign minister visited lesser Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) to tell the Serbs that they must negotiate with the Hungarian representatives in Vojvodina. This is a precondition for us before we can normalize our relations.

[Sergent] Did they listen to you?

[Horn] I must admit that we did not make much progress. More broadly, I want to stress that the Yugoslav question has been badly handled by the West from the start. Now they have reached an impasse because they were much too late in sanctioning the aggressors. We in Hungary respect the embargo to the letter, although I must say that our economy is suffering because of it.

[Sergent] What you think of [French Prime Minister] Balladur's plan for stability in Europe?

[Horn] It is a good initiative but, as I have already told French officials, there are loopholes in this plan. There are no guarantees of sanctions in the event of countries not respecting the plan.

[Sergent] Does Hungary still want to join NATO?

[Horn] That is a question we do not even have to ask. For me and my country, it is understood. However, as my party's program stipulates, we will put this question of NATO membership to a referendum when the time is right. The West has always looked at the countries of central and eastern Europe in the context of the Soviet Union, and now Russia. That is not a criticism, I can understand this position. The changes in Russia are influencing the development of Europe as a whole. The partnership for peace is a compromise. It is a step in the right direction. It includes elements for political and military cooperation, but it does not go far enough.

[Sergent] Is Russia the potential threat for you?

[Horn] Of course it's Russia, but NATO offers a guarantee against all aggressors.

[Sergent] Is this also why Hungary wants to belong to the European Union (EU)?

[Horn] That is not exactly the same thing. The Russian factor is different, but there again we want Brussels to make a concrete decision opening the way to negotiations on the conditions for membership. The EU must say clearly that it is ready to embrace this region.

[Sergent] Do you think all this is taking too long?

[Horn] I know and I understand Europe's objections. There is a recession, and the integration of four new members will take time, plus our region does not look stable enough. The question is knowing whether this region can stabilize without EU aid. I don't think it can. Hungary is prepared to do anything to meet the conditions for membership but, at the same time, Hungary cannot take these measures without EU aid. This is an internal contradiction for the EU. However, I expect great things from the next two German and French presidencies so that these decisions can be made. These negotiations must start in around 1996 or 1997, so that we can join the EU in around the year 2000.

[Sergent] Will Hungary be ready by that time? Isn't there a contradiction between the expectations of your electorate and the sacrifices you will have to enforce to reach the European level?

[Horn] The economic transition is already underway. We are in a market economy, our democratic institutions are stable, and we have an exemplary human rights

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record. Our electorate is not fundamentally opposed to the market nor to marketable production. What they find very hard to accept is rampant capitalism, corruption, and the current economic disorder. There are few rich Hungarians and a great mass of people who suffer great hardships in their day-to-day lives. We cannot impose the market economy without social protection. The Hungarian people voted us in so that we could put the affairs of the country in order.

[Sergent] But you will have to impose sacrifices. For example, will you be able to keep your promise of increasing pensions?

[Horn] Of course, there will be sacrifices. There is more at stake than the issue of pensions. Today, 3 million Hungarians live below the poverty line. Life is very hard for them, for large families, and for young people just starting out on a career. I predict a difficult 18-month period of adjustment and stabilization.

[Sergent] Isn't it paradoxical for a former Communist to be selling capitalism to the Hungarian people?

[Horn] I don't like the fact that I am always referred to as a former Communist. I am not ashamed of it, but I do not think it is fair for people to forget that we had been preparing for the change since the mid-1970's. Our party is a member of the Socialist International (with observer status). We satisfy their criteria.

[Sergent] Nonetheless, you are now defending the values of capitalism and democracy where you once defended those of Communism...

[Horn] These are not capitalist values, they are the values of modern society. However, we have to do in a few years what took decades in the West. We do not have much time in this region.

Minister Kovacs Sees Austria as 'Door' to EU

AU0508133194 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 5 Aug 94 p 7

[Interview with Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs by Tibor Fenyi; place and date not given: "Austria Is Our Door To The European Union"]

[Text] [Fenyi] When this interview is published, you and Prime Minister Horn will be holding talks with the Slovak leadership. What do you expect from this visit?

[Kovacs] I do not think one can achieve a turnabout in such tense relationships with just one visit, but we must at least try to bring about a slight change. In the past, politicians were a hindrance to experts in the working out of realistic compromises, but today they can support the experts. I am convinced that the governments will demonstrate their political desire for a rapprochement.

As far as Gabcikovo is concerned, one must consider only the problems of technology, the environment, profitability, energy, and shipping, and not bogus political prestige. Thus, sooner or later, we will reach a mutually acceptable solution.

[Fenyi] To what extent is Hungarian foreign policy changing under the new socio-liberal coalition?

[Kovacs] Its principle guidelines will remain unchanged, because they are the result of the country's situation and history, as well as international structures. Integration with the West, reconciliation with our neighbors, and support for Hungarians living beyond our borders remain our principle objectives.

But our way of thinking and the ways and means of action will change, for we do not think it is possible to pursue a successful foreign policy on the basis of historical achievements or distortions. Therefore, instead of applying pressure, freezing our relationships, or attempting to stop our neighbors' efforts at European integration, we will implement initiatives and confidence- building measures.

[Fenyi] But there is still no friendship treaty with Romania and Slovakia.

[Kovacs] We want to change that. A friendship treaty can be viewed as the "culmination" of existing relationships or as the start of new ones. We realize that the Slovaks hold the latter view. Therefore we are not trying to convince them that a treaty is superfluous, but that we are capable of signing a brand-new treaty. This treaty must resolve the two most important issues of borders and ethnic minorities. Of course we can issue a declaration on the inviolability of borders, but at the same time we insist on open borders, and on guarantees for human rights.

Romania, Slovakia, and Hungary cannot expect integration into the European Union [EU] unless we resolve these relationships. The realization of this fact acts as a strong incentive.

[Fenyi] Talking about the EU, over the past few years it has become less and less obvious that Hungary will become a member soon.

[Kovacs] I do not think our entry into the EU is any further away today than it was a few years ago. On 1 February we concluded a treaty on associate member status in the EU, so we are closer to it. Because we have already filed our application to join, talks with the Brussels commission can begin in 1996-97. I hope that by the year 2000, Hungary will be EU-compatible and that the EU itself will still have the political desire.

For us, Austria's EU admission is a major positive fact. For decades, this neighboring country was a window to the world. Now, hopefully, it will be a door to the EU.

[Fenyi] What is the government's attitude toward NATO membership?

[Kovacs] First of all, NATO must reach a strategic decision on whether or not the fears about Russia will be overcome. This will involve not only a decision about Hungary, but also about whether or not NATO needs this part of Europe. Let us not forget what President

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Clinton said: "The question is not whether, but when and how." As far as the "when" is concerned, I think the question will still not be topical within the next two years.

[Fenyi] Finally, a personal question. Prime Minister Horn was one of Hungary's most successful foreign ministers. Is foreign policy shaped in the office of the government chief?

[Kovacs] I have worked with Gyula Horn for 20 years. Together we laid down the groundwork for Hungary's opening up. Later he became secretary of state, and I became the deputy minister. The past few weeks have shown that our relationship remains correct. In future, too, we will establish together the most important principles of foreign policy. The preparation and implementation of foreign policy will be my responsibility, but it is the head of the government who must make the decisions.

Canada 'Supports' Hungary's NATO Membership

LD0808091694 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 0500 GMT 8 Aug 94

[Text] Canada supports Hungary's NATO membership. The Canadian defense minister, who is having talks in the countries of the central east European region, spoke to our "News Roundup" program. The minister stated in the most resolute manner: In NATO circles there is no change in the relationship with Russia. That is to say, NATO does not give Moscow any more possibilities for joining NATO than it does to the other former members of the Warsaw Pact. [video shows Canadian defense minister being interviewed by unidentified correspondent]

[Begin correspondent recording] Is the Partnership for Peace program the last stop in relations between NATO and the countries in the region? [end recording]

Well, I don't think so, said Canadian Defense Minister David Collenette. We intended the Partnership for Peace program to be a path leading to the acquisition of full membership. What we would like is for our partners such as Hungary to cooperate with us. I think this is worthwhile. Of course, we must thoroughly think through all the aspects of the issue. Canadian Prime Minister [Jean] Chretien also stated at the Brussels NATO summit in January that while we support the Partnership for Peace program, in our view full NATO membership must be given as soon as possible to the countries of the post-communist region, including Hungary. Of course, the timetable of future accession has not yet been decided. We have travelled a long way in the bare 12 months of the Partnership for Peace program that have elapsed so far. Indeed, many people said in the past that this idea could not work. And yet look, in September we will already be holding a joint military exercise in Poland in the framework of Partnership for Peace. The Slovak, Polish, Hungarian, and Czech enthusiasm for the program shows that this is a path already leading toward an expanded NATO.

Earlier, NATO was averse to making some kind of exception in the case of Russia. But I wonder if the cooperation agreement that was concluded recently with the Russians, concluded with them alone, does not mean that there has been a change in this?

No, Collenette says decisively. After all, at that Brussels meeting of NATO defense ministers recently, which was also attended by Russian Defense Minister Grachev, we plainly told Mr. Grachev that we treat everyone equally among the countries of the post-communist region and that everybody will be able to become a member of NATO on the basis of identical standpoints.

Spokeswomen Denies Horn Apologized to Slovaks

LD0608170294 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 6 Aug 94

[Text] The government spokeswoman has telephoned us to say that what happened in the discussions between Prime Minister Gyula Horn and Slovak President Michal Kovac was the exact opposite of what the Prague press has published. This is what Evelyn Forro said:

[Begin Forro recording] Hungarian Radio's Prague correspondent was quoting from Czech papers and I think it is a question of a misunderstanding.

There is no question that during his discussions with Slovak President Michal Kovac, Gyula Horn apologized for the grievances suffered by the minorities.

The truth is that in connection with the anniversary of the holocaust, Michal Kovac also raised the matter of the minorities. In response to this, the Hungarian prime minister mentioned that in his view it would be a very good thing if the Slovak leadership were to apologize to the Hungarian minority for the Benes decrees, for the fact that the minorities suffered a grievance.

Therefore, we are talking here about entirely the reverse, and not what the Czech papers have written.

Democratic Forum on Economic, Personnel Policy

AU0508195594 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 5 Aug 94 pp 1,4

[Report by "szesa": "According to the MDF's Executive Committee—Government Efforts for Restoration"]

[Text] The cleanup should be ended, Ivan Szabo, deputy chairman and parliamentary group leader of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], said at a news conference on 4 August where the executive committee's views were presented. Szabo said that the government is making a big mistake by implementing a complete cleanup in the country's leading institutions, for example in the public service media. He admitted that the

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replacement of personnel is acceptable to a certain extent, but, beyond this level, there is no sensible explanation. Especially, since none of the governments are given a permanent right to govern the country.

According to Szabo, the economic reasoning behind the decision on the World Expo does not stand testing because the budget would only have 18 billion forints extra expenditure due to the Expo in the coming two years, which is equivalent to saving 60 fillers [0.6 forint] out of 100 forints.

Szabo assessed the Socialist economic program prepared by [Finance Minister] Laszlo Bekesi, and expressed his appreciation, however, he can see problems in the techniques to be applied to implement it. In his view, no studies have been made on the expected effects of the isolated measures planned by Bekesi. Rather than increasing the budget revenue, the planned increase of the value added tax and the consumption tax will only expand the black economy. Szabo said that the budget deficit will not go above 330 billion forints by the end of the year. The half-year performance of the budget has not been as good as this for decades because it has never happened before that the budget deficit only reached 55 percent—instead of the previous 60 percent—of the annual target by the end of the first six months. Szabo finds it difficult to imagine where the government can reduce the budget spending without upsetting social sensitivities because, in Hungary, the expenditure side of the budget only has a 5 to 10 percent room for maneuver. Szabo also emphasized that the Office of Tax and Fiscal Auditing initiated liquidation procedures in the case of certain functioning enterprises and this does not at all lead to a boom in the economy. This is not the solution, rather, it only increases the number of the unemployed. Finally, he mentioned a personal issue: In an article, the MAGYAR FORUM links his person to the well-known Soros-OTP case [George Soros intending to buy shares in the Hungarian Savings Bank, OTP]. He firmly refuted this accusation, especially as he has never met Soros in his life.

Etelka Pataky Mrs. Barsi, former government commissioner for the World Expo, said that the government decision rejecting the World Expo presents an accomplished fact to Parliament and its decision can only be formal. She objected that the government made a one-sided decision because it had not held prior consultations with those people who had worked on preparing the Expo. The World Expo Program Office, the World Expo Council, and others were left out of the consultations. Therefore, the MDF's executive committee that dealt with this issue at its 3 August session, asks the government to consult the aforementioned organizations and people before taking further steps.

Former Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, a member of the MDF executive committee, found the government's decision rejecting the Expo unfortunate from a foreign political point of view. According to Jeszenszky, the Budapest Expo could have been a test for the post-communist world. Jeszenszky also expressed his concern that the foreign policy government is giving room to restoration efforts, which precisely means that they wish to return to the conditions prior to 1989. Jeszenszky agrees with Presbyterian Bishop Laszlo Tokes in that the current atmosphere is not suitable for conciliation with the leaders of the neighboring countries. He added that the bolshevik view stating that whoever is not with us is against us appears to be increasingly gaining ground. The kind of cleanup that means the replacement of foreign service employees committed to the MDF is also a sign of this.

Justice Party To Support Industry, Culture

AU0508074794 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 4 Aug 94 p 4

[Interview with Istvan Csurka, chairman of the Hungarian Justice and Life Party, by Sara Szeli; place and date not given: "Csurka: The Right Wing Can Only Be Strong Through Cooperation"]

[Excerpts] [Szeli] You announced the establishment of a new movement, the MIENK ["ours" in Hungarian, expansion unknown], at a meeting in Hodmezovasarhely [eastern Hungary]. What is the goal of the organization?

[Csurka] This is a strictly grass-roots movement, a civic organization that encourages the country's population to work together. Foreign goods are flowing into Hungary's territory without limitations. Assets with high value are leaving the country through privatization. No to mention the foreign works of art which represent a hollow culture and which are increasingly gaining ground in the public media. It is not difficult to draw the conclusions, the conscience of Hungarians is being bombarded from a thousand places. Therefore, the Hungarian Way Circles [MUK] and the Hungarian Justice and Life Party [MIEP] decided to try to fight these in their own way. We would like to see the establishment of small local communities with the aim of buying only Hungarian goods and popularizing the good quality domestic products in their environment. We wish to support the Hungarian producers both in the economy and in cultural life. Those forces that wish to conduct anti-Hungarian politics have to realize the fact that the strata of society where the national conscience is alive cannot be ignored. [passage omitted]

[Szeli] Has the MIEP's membership increased or decreased recently?

[Csurka] I can tell you with pleasure that many people have joined the MIEP. Our election results have not frightened people away. The MUK is also successfully recruiting among the population. We will hold our national meeting in late September or early November; until then we are holding executive committee meetings in the provinces.

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[Szeli] Could you not have avoided your expulsion from the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]? The party was rather shaken by this "divorce."

[Csurka] [passage omitted on circumstances of separation] In the current situation, it would be expedient if the MDF's leadership did not hinder the cooperation of the national forces. I hope that they will come to this realization.... None of the parties of the national side can on their own fight against the other side. Everything, including the financial resources, is being regrouped to the "other side" and only a very strict and determined cooperation can help. The MIEP is ready for this.

[Szeli] Does this mean that you are ready for close cooperation with all parties that represent the national Christian ideology, including the MDF, the Christian Democratic People's Party, and the Independent Smallholders Party?

[Csurka] Naturally. This is what the country and the right wing would need to have enough power in opposition to the excessive power.

[Szeli] Assessing the current political situation, can a pseudo-democracy, namely dictatorship, really develop?

[Csurka] The dictatorship has already arrived. It is obvious, especially at the beginning, that it is not like in the past. Nevertheless, they find the way of removing the political or economic factors that are in their way. [passage omitted]

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Cabinet To Submit Draft Laws on 'Strategy'

WS0508133694 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 5 Aug 94 p 3

[Article by "em": "'Strategy' in the Sejm; Kolodko Is Accelerating Things"]

[Text] Most probably, the Sejm will receive from the government as many as 24 draft laws necessary for the implementation of the "Strategy for Poland" program. Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko addressed a letter on Wednesday to Sejm Speaker Oleksy, in which he asked Oleksy for the Sejm to set aside some time to deal with the laws. As GAZETA WYBORCZA has learned, Kolodko attached a list of the draft laws to the letter.

The Sejm Presidium made a decision yesterday that, once the government delivers the draft laws, the Sejm will get down to the business of debating them. So far, only amendments to the Labor Code have found their way into the Sejm.

The government announced it will send the following legislation, among other things, to the Sejm:

—draft laws on the valorization of salaries in the budget sector and on the valorization of retirement and other kinds of pensions, in line with price increases;

—amendments to the law on employment and unemployment, so as to tighten the criteria for granting unemployment benefits;

—a draft law on family and similar types of benefits, which says that they will be paid only to families that are in the most severe need;

—drafts of a privatization law resulting from the "Agreement on State-Owned Enterprises" and drafts of a law on the trilateral commission for socioeconomic affairs;

—a draft law on the commercialization of state-owned enterprises;

—a draft law on the minister of the State Treasury;

—a draft law on the establishment of a Guarantee Bank Deposit Fund.

Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko is not ruling out the possibility that the government could decide in favor of a reform of the economic center—which was announced in "Strategy"—before the end of this year. This would be about the establishment of a State Treasury, a ministry of the economy, and a ministry for international economic integration.

Poll: 50 Percent Dissatisfied With Democracy

WS0808113594 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8 Aug 94 pp 1-2

[Article by R.W.: "Public Opinion Research Institute for RZECZPOSPOLITA; Democracy Is So-So"]

[Text] Over 50 percent of adult Poles are either dissatisfied with the present form of democracy in Poland or believe that there is no democracy in Poland. Less than 40 percent of respondents are satisfied (more people are satisfied to a lesser rather than a greater degree). Every 10th respondent does not have an opinion on this issue. Satisfaction with the Polish democracy falls along with the age of respondents; it rises along with their level of education and wealth. The poll was conducted at the request of our daily by the Public Opinion Research Institute.

Democracy—That Is, Well-Being

Quite a large group of the inhabitants of our country associate democracy simply with well-being. The least well-to-do people very rarely express favorable opinions of the democratic transformations in Poland; those whose incomes are high do it most often. One can suppose that, asked whether their country is democratic, many Poles think not so much about freedom, equality of rights, or the rule of law as about their wallets.

Not long ago, when we lived under the rule of the "people's" democracy, Western democratic states seemed to be the promised land; however, when we said "democratic countries," we were very often simply referring to "rich states." Many Poles sincerely believed in such slogans as "Although I am hungry, I want to be in my country." When the revolutionary euphoria died down, however, it turned out that, for many citizens, freedom of speech and a passport in the drawer do not offset the hopes for a life without material problems—hopes that have not come true.

I Feel Good, So I Praise

Democracy is most readily praised by those who have more general reasons to be satisfied: Either they are well off, occupy a high post, or enjoy respect and a respectable niche in the social hierarchy.

Good opinions are voiced by people who are young or educated, by people with high incomes, by managers and white-collar workers. An interesting thing is that those who practice the free market in their own backyards—private entrepreneurs as well as employees in the trade and services sectors—are much more skeptical. Peasants and inhabitants of rural areas give grades that are clearly worse than grades given by city dwellers.

The Left and "Solidarity" ["S"] Are Skeptical

Among people who voted for a political party in last September's elections, the condition of democracy is most positively evaluated by supporters of the Democratic Union. This was the party that most ardently supported systemic transformations in the last elections.

Supporters of the Democratic Left Alliance made the greatest number of critical remarks, even though, thanks to democratic procedures, the left has recently returned to power. Not much more satisfied are the voters of "S."

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The reasons for such behavior, however, may be quite different in both groups. The electorate of the left may long for the times of the Polish People's Republic; it may also be reacting to certain problems that the supporters of this grouping had to face in the first period of the democratic transformations. The supporters of "S" may, in turn, be disappointed that the changes are not going in the direction they had expected.

More or less every 10th Pole replies that there is no democracy at all in Poland. These particularly disillusioned people are first of all people who will retire in several or more years' time, people with low incomes, and individuals making their living in agriculture and trade.

Just as many people are unable to take a stand on this issue or do not want to; these people are first of all housewives, peasants, and people with elementary education.

The poll was conducted on 23-24 July on a 1,029-person representative sample for adult inhabitants of Poland.

* * *

To What Degree Are You Satisfied With the Democracy That Exists in Poland?

Very satisfied—1 percent
Satisfied—8 percent
Rather satisfied—28 percent
Rather dissatisfied—21 percent
Dissatisfied—18 percent
Very dissatisfied—4 percent
There is no democracy—10 percent
I do not know—10 percent

Poll Shows SLD, PSL Holding Support

WS0808102594 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 6-7 Aug 94 p 2

[Article by R.W.: "OBOP: The Left Still Wins"]

[Text] Slightly more than one in three Poles declares that they would like to go to the polls if parliamentary elections were held tomorrow. Every fifth respondent to an opinion poll is considering such a possibility. In the spring, the number of people intending to take part in the then coming local elections was similar.

The most popular groupings among potential voters are the following: the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] (24 percent of those who want to vote), the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] (19 percent), the Freedom Union (11 percent), the Nonparty Bloc in Support of Reforms (9 percent), and the Union of Labor (8 percent). The ratings of extraparliamentary rightist groupings are rather low. The situation was similar in the spring; however, in the June local elections, the right wing achieved significant success. The discrepancy between opinion polls and political reality may partially result from the fact that respondents are confused by the large number of rightist parties, whose names are constantly changing. There may be another reason, as well: Respondents may conceal their oppositional sympathies, which was not so long ago observed among some SLD supporters. The poll was conducted by the Center for Research on Public Opinion [OBOP] between 15 and 19 July on a 923-person representative sample of adult inhabitants of the country.

Expert Study Views Polish Ports' Prospects

MM0808082094 Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 29 Jul 94 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Christiaan van Kripmen, head of the Rotterdam Maritime Group (RMG) international experts team commissioned to prepare a report on Polish maritime ports for the World Bank, by correspondent Jan Kreft; place and date not given]

[Text] [Kreft] Your team of experts drew up a number of reports for the World Bank, intended to provide a basis for the World Bank's decision on whether to extend multi-billion-dollar loans to Poland's maritime economy sector. Your reports make up the "Sector Study of Polish Maritime Ports." What are the study's main theses?

[Van Kripmen] All European ports compete with one another: Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Bremen, Antwerp, and Rostock all strive to secure the same cargoes to be shipped through their ports. A port's competitiveness depends on its geographical location. If Polish cargoes are transported through foreign ports, this happens exclusively because of the practical application of market laws. You must consider carefully what Polish ports should be doing in order to take over the bulk of these cargoes and earn money by transshipping them here. That is precisely what we worked on in our study. Taking into account Poland's recent economic progress, we predict a serious increase of the volume of cargoes transshipped in your ports and, by the same token, an improvement in these ports' situation.

[Kreft] As we take a stroll through Bremerhaven or Hamburg, it is difficult to resist the reflection that time in Polish ports must have stopped some 15 years ago.

[Van Kripmen] But Polish ports also have their advantages. It turns out that they they often win in the competition for Polish cargoes with the ports of Rotterdam and Hamburg first of all because of the lower transport and distribution costs they offer. On the other hand, they lose in competition with European ports over the quality of service offered, flexibility, and all those other factors we generally describe as the "climate" of business dealings.

Unfortunately, Polish ports do not hold significant trump cards in the competition over transit goods on East-West shipping routes, particularly as regards the quality of service. While for bulk cargoes your transport and distribution costs are comparable with Hamburg's

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and actually more attractive than those quoted by Rotterdam, the terms for container cargoes shipped through the ports of Szczecin-Swinoujscie and Gdansk-Gdynia are less advantageous than those quoted by Hamburg and comparable only with Rotterdam's shipping offers. These differentiations are somewhat complex, but they must be made all the same.

[Kreft] Skeptics might claim that you encourage us to take out loans, and loans must eventually be repaid.

[Van Kripmen] The World Bank suggests 17-year loans, with annual interest of 12 percent and a five-year deferment period. I believe that these terms are quite good. In addition, it will be up to the Polish Government to guarantee security on World Bank loans. The World Bank is not a charitable organization. Having said this, Poland is not Africa, and its economic position is probably the strongest among Central and East European countries. The problem is that it does not have sufficient development funds at its disposal. In this disability, its situation is similar to that of the Netherlands during the postwar period, when we had the Marshall Plan and concentrated on rebuilding our ports, first of all, which then enabled us to repay our debts within five years.

[Kreft] You suggest that the ports of Gdansk and Gdynia be placed under joint management. Our experience of applying such a solution is, to put it mildly, not the happiest. Many people who will be reading these words might actually feel that the two ports' only chance for a bright future lies in mutual competition. Joint management smacks of centralism.

[Van Kripmen] Nevertheless, it is the logical solution. I do realize that the idea has negative associations. However, from the economic viewpoint, the Tri-City [Gdansk, Gdynia, Sopot] ports are just one complex. Competition between them is problematic, considering that they both use the same transport backup facilities. Therefore, investing in them separately on a competitive basis would mean throwing money down the drain.

Competition as a universal feature of efficient economic management is by all means recommended, but, in certain areas, as in this particular case, strength resides in unity.

[Kreft] In each of our major Polish ports, we have an example of a different kind of privatization scheme. What is your opinion on this diversity?

[Van Kripmen] Each port tries to find its optimum solution by applying the trial and error method. Gdansk has chosen the furthest reaching way. Within Gdansk port, as many as 32 employees' joint-stock companies were created, all of them being virtually thrown in at the deep end...

[Kreft] ...and they are still managing somehow, with varying degrees of success....

[Van Kripmen] Indeed. We shall see what happens when they are required to meet the usual market demands on their own over a longer period of time. I tend to doubt whether they will manage to come out triumphant after the next two years. In my opinion, there are too many of these joint-stock companies, and they are, or at least half of them are, too weak as regards the capital they hold. Consequently, I would encourage them to come together and join forces. Taken singly, they are, in a majority of cases, too weak to be attractive partners for strong foreign investors. For example, they will be unable to attract capital from the World Bank. As a result, they will also be unable to secure adequate profits for their employee-shareholders. The Port Polnocny [Northern Port] is a separate case here. The employees' joint-stock company active there is in an advantageous situation because it commands a monopoly position.

[Kreft] What is the source of your pessimism? After all, the Gdansk Port has been achieving really good financial results.

[Van Kripmen] The results are indeed satisfactory, although much depends on the use to which the profits will be put. There may well come a point when certain of the employees' joint-stock companies run out of money to pay employees' wages. In our study for the World Bank, we concluded that half of them will fail to make it and go bankrupt. Only the strongest ones will survive, led by the Port Polnocny.

[Kreft] And what do you think of Gdynia Port?

[Van Kripmen] The companies set up there have begun by attempting to secure the finances required for effective economic management. The port continues to extend its protection over them, and I believe that, over the next few years, the port of Gdynia as a whole will become consolidated and develop the ability to fight competition. The port of Szczecin has chosen yet another manner of operation. We will not really be able to analyze the results of their transformations until some five or six years have passed. One thing is certain: Those firms will survive that are able to secure the highest capital. Personally, I am most in favor of the kind of transformations applied in Gdynia.

[Kreft] So which Polish port, in your opinion, is in the best starting position?

[Van Kripmen] The Gdansk-Gdynia complex. The port of Szczecin is facing a serious challenge: the task of rebuilding its shipping routes. At the same time, Szczecin can count on a major surge in the volume of cargoes transshipped there because of its natural economic "catchment area," which is the region around Berlin.

[Kreft] You must have met with accusations that the study prepared under your supervision demonstrates anti-Polish bias and promotion of the interests of Western ports. Statements have been made in public to

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the effect that your "Sectors Study" accords a third-rate role for Polish ports. What is your reaction to that?

[Van Kripmen] A consulting expert is incapable of altering either the existing geographical conditions or the laws of economy. The most he can do is reflect on the inanities that are being expressed on the subject of his work.

[Kreft] Thank you for talking with us.

[Box, p 3]

The RMG study contains an assessment of the future prospects of the following aspects of Polish economy: a continued transition to a free-market economy, economic and price stabilization, reduction of inflation, and privatization of the majority of state enterprises. The assessment is made on the basis of forecasts for the next three years.

For the years 1996-2000, the study confirms the optimistic assumptions of analyses made at Western centers for the study of economic prospects for Poland: completion of economic transformations, substantial economic growth (3-4 percent of GNP per annum), and real wage increases. By the year 2000, inflation should come down to 5 percent per annum, capital investment outlays should increase, and exports and consumption should also go up. It is expected that, in the period between the years 2000 and 2005, Poland's integration with the EEC will be completed, and the GNP will rise to the level of 4-5 percent annually. At the same time the RMG envisages increases in both imports and exports (faster than the GNP), which should result in higher volume of transshipments through Polish ports.

[Box, p 3]

The blueprints drawn up in the study for the Tri-City include a project for the regulation of the river Wisla Smiala and an analysis of the Kwiatkowski Route (access highway to Gdynia). Also completed is a business plan for the Baltic Container Terminal. The most recent projects concern a new bridge on the Vistula offering access to Port Polnocny. Other plans that have already been completed include the blueprint for the construction of a large ro-ro [roll-on-roll-off] terminal in Gdynia (for both cargo and passenger traffic) and for the refurbishment of the eastern part of Gdynia port, including a free trade zone; in addition, in response to a request from the Gdynia city authorities, a design has been prepared for the development and expansion of the World Trade Center.

For the Szczecin-Swinoujscie port complex, the RMG group prepared a plan for a major surface highway designed to provide access to and between the two ports, and the blueprint for the development of the existing waterway between them. According to RMG assessments, the latter part of the project will alone require a capital investment of some $100 million. Other major completed designs are those for the redevelopment of the main port in Szczecin and reconstruction of the chemical cargoes wharf in Swinoujscie.

Drought Causing Shortfalls in Agricultural Sector

LD0608191694 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1730 GMT 6 Aug 94

[Excerpts] According to the Ministry of Agriculture, the root fodder crop and the potato and sugar beet harvests might be one-third smaller than last year. The grain harvest should be similar to that of last year. On the other hand, farmers are complaining that the drought has destroyed half of their crops.

The winter cereals harvest has the best prospects at the moment, this having been assisted in the spring by abundant rain. Farmers with large farms in the Wielkopolska region, in Lower Silesia, and in the Bydgoszcz Voivodship should not complain.

[Begin recording of Deputy Agriculture Minister Jozef Jerzy Pilarczyk—identified by screen caption] There will be a smaller cereals harvest than we anticipated, than the spring prognoses indicated. On the other hand, the shortfall will not create a food or fodder shortage. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Producers of fodder, sugar beet, and potatoes, plants that ripen at the start of summer, will come off worst from the present heatwave and drought. In many plantations, potatoes and root fodder crops have dried out altogether. Meadows are withering.

[Begin recording] [Dr. Michal Kisiel, of the Institute of Agricultural Economics—identified by screen caption] It is small-scale farms, based on potato processing, with some extra cereals for the farming of pigs, that will probably suffer the most.

[Unidentified reporter] By drawing on state reserves or importing certain kinds of indispensible produce, especially food products, fruit, and vegetables, it will be possible to ameliorate this balance.

[Kisiel] I suspect that, in certain regions, quite simply, producers will themselves have to forsake the maintenance of such large numbers of animals at the levels they have kept hitherto. [end recording]

At procurement points, farmers today receive 115 zlotys more per kilo of live pig than last week. We will probably see these increases in the shops in the fall. Sugar and potatoes have already gone up in price. The Koszalin and Slupsk Voividas have declared a natural disaster due to the drought and have applied to the minister of agriculture for subsidies. The ministry has still not decided whether to grant subsidies to the farmers from the Pomorze region. It is also not clear whether they will be able to count on the deferral of repayments on credits that they have drawn.

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Internal Affairs Minister Interviewed on Crime

WS0508123094 Poznan WPROST in Polish 7 Aug 94 pp 13-15

[Interview with Polish Internal Affairs Minister Andrzej Milczanowski by Piotr Gabryel and Marek Krol; place and date not given: "The Criminal Connection"]

[Text] [WPROST] Mr. Minister, do you share the view that there are beginning to occur "Italian-type links" between the business community and politicians in Poland?

[Milczanowski] There is some connection between the criminal side of business and the world of politics. I repeat, there is some connection. I would not, however, overreact about the phenomenon, which does not mean that I think it should be completely ignored. Dangers of this kind exist in practically every country, and we are no exception to the rule.

[WPROST] Among other things, is it the criminal connection being talked about here that you want to wage war against, by proposing the introduction into Polish legislation of the institutions of key witness [swiadek koronny] and controlled delivery [zakup kontrolowany]?

[Milczanowski] Yes. These measures are supposed to serve the goal of providing the police with the kinds of instruments that would be appropriate to the situation.

[WPROST] So the connection between the criminal business world and the world of politics is so strong in Poland that it has become impossible to overcome it with the currently existing instruments?

[Milczanowski] The level of our knowledge about mutual links is not bad. However, we do not have the correct instruments to allow us to transform the knowledge into actual criminal law indictments. The legal institutions you mentioned—key witness and controlled delivery—must, of course, be introduced with caution and under the full supervision of the internal affairs minister and attorney general, with the prior appropriate training provided to officers of the police and the State Protection Office [UOP], with regard to the possibilities and legal boundaries that must not be crossed in the practical implementation of the two institutions, and also with regard to the actual technique of their implementation.

[WPROST] Perhaps we should just admit it: Crime, including organized crime, is a high but unavoidable price that has to be paid for democracy.

[Milczanowski] I could possibly agree with that view, but only partially, because we must not cross a certain minimum limit of safety or else the entire country, based on law, will become a country of anarchy, which would then mean that the application of extraordinary measures would be justified. I am aware of the rising crime rates in Poland—such as highway robberies, or the rising homicide rate, for instance—but I want to warn people against being overly pessimistic in that regard. In all of 1993, 559 armed robberies were reported in Poland. That is quite a lot, but, consider that, over the same period in Germany, which is a stable West European country, over 7,000 such acts were committed, while you also have to keep in mind that the number of German residents is double that of Poland's.

[WPROST] Deputy Internal Affairs Minister Jerzy Zimowski said in mid-March 1994: "We have been getting reports of corruption occurring at various levels. The most popular forms of corruption include police officers accepting bribes instead of handing out traffic tickets, officials accepting bribes in exchange for abandoning an official duty, or corroborations of car thefts for the purpose of obtaining insurance money under false pretenses. The most dangerous phenomena, however, are the associations between the criminal world and the world of business and economics. We are afraid that there is corruption going on in that area, the extent and scope of which we simply do not know." So that means that the police are being plagued by corruption. Is that not too apocalyptic a vision?

[Milczanowski] No, it is not. To be faithful to the facts, however, I suggest that we refresh our memory of how Polish capitalism was born: In the 1988-90 period, at least every fourth Pole was very strongly convinced that he or she would make a fortune as a private entrepreneur. We were faced with the new fashion of establishing partnerships and foundations, we opened our borders wide, and we radically liberalized the legislation pertaining to conducting economic activity. Previously unknown sorts of criminal activity followed all of that. That is one factor. The other is this: The state budget has so far not fulfilled many fundamental needs that law enforcement agencies have. We lack modern legislation, we lack money for modern equipment for operational work or even to purchase gasoline for vehicles. Finally, we do not have a sufficient number of police officers.

So one cannot, as it happens sometimes, "place the gun" in the hands of potential criminals on the one hand, but, on the other, take it away from the police and, at the same time, demand that they be highly efficient in fighting crime.

[WPROST] Mr. Minister, Zbigniew Bujak, chairman of the Sejm Administrative and Internal Affairs Commission, has told WPROST: "After my conversation with [Poznan Police] Chief Smolarek, it is my conclusion that he will manage to successfully resist the accusations that have been levied against him by GAZETA WYBORCZA." Chief Smolarek submitted his resignation to you, but you have yet to approve it. Is it your view that Zenon Smolarek was treated unjustly?

[Milczanowski] It is a bad thing that the GAZETA WYBORCZA editorial board had not given Chief Smolarek any chance of addressing the accusations before publication of the article entitled "Corruption in Poznan Police." Incidentally, by not doing that, the paper did not meet the requirement of equality of both sides to a

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case, or of giving one a right to defend himself. Right now, in a situation where the Public Prosecutors Office is conducting a very thorough and comprehensive inquiry as we speak, I refuse to take a stand on the issue, and one of the reasons is that I do not want to be accused of taking sides.

[WPROST] Did Main Police Chief Zenon Smolarek bid an official farewell to Chief Kazimierz Knoff with your consent, or did he do it on his own?

[Milczanowski] I had known Smolarek was going to Poznan to grant the deputy voivodship chief the powers of voivodship chief. What I did not know because I am not in the habit of asking details of this sort was the way the farewell was going to take place.

To return to "the Poznan case," I would like to turn the readers' attention to something of a more general nature: I can remember the 1970's and the 1980's very well, when there was a great deal of talk about human dignity being trampled on by "the regime of people's justice." If it is true that we were correct back then, let us ask ourselves this question: Are we not trampling on the very same human dignity nowadays, at every possible opportunity? It is an issue of the responsibility of media reporters and the issue of finding the correct balance between what has been thoroughly determined and is obvious, what is highly probable, and what is derived only from someone's pure speculation. While being flooded by a sea of publicly formulated libels, we lost sight of two fundamental principles that the entire civilized world goes by and to which we aspire: The first rule is the presumption of innocence which, after al, clearly states that, until such time that somebody's guilt has not been proved in a court of law (by a verdict not subject to any further appeal measures), what we are dealing with is an innocent man. The other rule is that defendants must be given the right to address any charges levied against them. There should be restraint in making public judgments before a verdict by a court of law (not subject to any further appeal measures); also, the less irrefutable proof the justice system has that could determine the issue of guilt one way or the other, the more restraint should be applied.

[WPROST] Did the intervention in the "Poznan case" not occur too late, and, also, would it have taken place at all had it not been for the GAZETAWYBORCZA article?

[Milczanowski] First, I want to voice the reminder here that, when it comes to 1993 alone, for instace, 6,000 disciplinary proceedings were carried out within the police force itself. Five hundred officers were punished by being dismissed from service, 100 officers were punished by being transferred to lower posts, and 250 cases were referred to the Public Prosecutor's Office, out of which, 110 indictments were formulated.

Another issue is that there continues to be a popular conviction that the Internal Affairs Ministry [MSW] is, in fact, the central organ of the state administration, while the police, UOP, the border guards, and the fire brigades continue to remain as MSW units. Actually, however, what happened in 1990 was that the MSW structure underwent a fundamental change. Let me cite the appropriate provision here: The UOP chief, the chief of the state police, the chief of the border guard, and the chief of the fire brigade units are in charge of the totality of the activities of the units that are under them, and they bear full responsibility because of that. So, in that case, who is the internal affairs minister, in fact? The law of 1990 uses the word "supervision" too often; also, the term is not clearly defined there. Fortunately, the idea of removing the budgets of these units from the minister's control has not yet been implemented. If the MSW were to be deprived of that right, too, that would render it just a "man of straw" type of office. So, for the moment, the minister conducts ill-defined supervision over the police, UOP, the border guards, and the fire brigade units by distributing money among the offices, and also with the assistance of the several dozen people in the strong Supervision and Control Inspectorate.

[WPROST] When you spoke out about file-checking a year ago, you said: "I cannot see a good solution to the problem."

[Milczanowski] I have not changed my mind. I remain opposed to file-checking because I am a pragmatic man: I do not want to be the "grave digger" of operational work and, consequently, the "grave digger" for the entire police structure and UOP. In the case of file-checking, we often deal with a type of schizophrenia. Supporters of file-checking say: Do the file-checking and provide us with safety. The truth, however, is that the two things cannot be reconciled because having a network of agents is a fundamental instrument of work that we have, just as any other police force. Technology itself will not do the job. Also, consider the fact that the verification that was carried through in the 1989-90 period and later on has already done some harm.

I have tried to explain my position on file-checking in the Sejm by making a reference to what happened in the 20-year period between World War I and World War II. The Polish state was born in 1918, and it formed a compilation of territories formerly subject to the partition of three powers. Did anybody do any file-checking on somebody back then? We have to keep in mind that, after all, many Poles who were politicians, soldiers, state clerks, and historians who were respected at the time—and later on—had served before in the armies of the foreign powers that divided Poland among themselves, and, in many cases, they were used against the interests of Polish society. Moreover, in many cases, they served in foreign networks of agents. When we regained independence, were they not useful? Could Poland not be proud of them? It was enough to just give them a chance. One must admit openly, however, that the political elites of the time were more mature and more responsible than the current ones, and they reasoned along the lines of the

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state's interests to an incomparably higher extent. Society came to understand that.

[WPROST] Ignoring the elites for a while, it is worth stressing that, according to a poll by the Public Opinion Research Center, 64 percent of citizens of the Third Polish Republic are in favor of mandatory file-checking of those who fill certain posts in the state.

[Milczanowski] I think you should be careful in making use of polls of this kind. Perhaps the interviewees meant the kind of file-checking that takes place in all civilized countries. I mean simply checking the qualifications, broadly speaking, of candidates for high state posts.

[WPROST] You mean according to rules that Sejm deputies for the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] suggested in their draft law on checking the skills of candidates for posts in the state administration? What is your evaluation of the draft law?

[Milczanowski] I think it is a civilized draft law, one based on Western models and one that prevents the introduction of social disturbance.

[WPROST] President Lech Walesa, however, was dismissive of the SLD draft, while part of the hierarchy has been demanding openly that some form of file-checking be conducted. This is evidenced, for instance, by a speech by Bishop Tadeusz Pieronek. Is that because the church administration has had plenty of time before to get rid of documents that would shed a bad light on it?

[Milczanowski] I have not had an opportunity to talk to the president on the issue. Regarding the second part of your question—and I will reply without any reference to any specific person—the probability of destroying everything that is relevant is rather small, while, regarding the part that has already been destroyed, there is some likelihood that one will be able to reconstruct many facts on the basis of the remaining documents or some other living proof.

[WPROST] How could one not, however, conduct the file-checking in a situation where Deputy Internal Affairs Minister Zbigniew Sobotka, for instance, is being accused of having cooperated with the Stasi?

[Milczanowski] The contents of materials from Gauck's office that have been made public were not a surprise to us. We had tried to obtain them earlier, from at least several sources, and we succeeded in that. I can recall the contents of the note from Lieutenant Colonel Augustin, which was not marked "secret." The note mentioned Zbigniew Sobotka by his first and last name. Is this any way to deal with an agent? No. That is one thing. The second thing is that the contents of the note do not at all imply any kind of membership in a network of agents.

[WPROST] Can it be ruled out in the case of Messrs. Zbigniew Sobotka and Stanislaw Ciosek that we are being used in a political game?

[Milczanowski] Who, in your view, would be playing the game?

[WPROST] Somebody from beyond our borders.

[Milczanowski] Could you be more specific and designate a geographical direction?

[WPROST] In this case, we think the Western direction is what comes to mind quite easily.

[Milczanowski] First, I think it is a strange and abnormal thing that Joachim Gauck's office had not agreed to a transfer of the materials to the Polish MSW—even though we made efforts toward that goal—by saying that German legislation only allows access to archives to parties that are directly involved, as well as to historians and reporters. In my view, that position conflicts with the principle of good-neighborly relations with a friendly country, especially because, as we found out recently, Gauck's office made such materials available to the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union "Solidarity." So this is simply a case of lack of persistence, to put it in the mildest way possible, even though I would like very much to use a different kind of term here.

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'Formula' Reached in Deva Copper Mines Conflict

AU0508154594 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1300 GMT 5 Aug 94

[Text] Following the protocol signed in the presence of the governmental commission led by Industry Minister Mr. Dumitru Popescu, talks between the trade unions and the management board were resumed today at the Deva Autonomous Copper Corporation, in order to finalize the collective labor contract for the 1994-1995 period. The sides agreed on an acceptable formula for salary increases, which will be made possible by reducing costs within the Corporation and by also resorting to other resources.

Under these circumstances, the miners began coming out of the underground galleries, where they have blocked themselves for days. Work is proceeding normally in the majority of the mining sectors of the Copper Corporation. Only a few units are idle, particularly those where the self-blocking phenomenon was at its strongest. According to our correspondent, Dorin Corpade, the delays caused will be recouped on the first free day.

Coal Miners End Strike

AU0508144394 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1300 GMT 5 Aug 94

["Dispatch" by Cornel Sorescu from Targu Jiu]

[Text] Dear listeners, on the ninth day of the general strike at the Autonomous Pitcoal Corporation—an action organized by the Rovinari Mining Trade Union Federation with the miners stopping work at the Rovinari, Rosia, and Pinoasa mines—we note that the labor conflict has ended. This development was announced a few moments ago and the trade union protest action that has been going on in the center square of Targu Jiu Municipality for the past nine days—where groups of strikers have been protesting nonstop, including through hunger strikes—also came to an end. This moment was made possible by the conclusion of a protocol between the two sides involved in the conflict, namely the Autonomous Pitcoal Corporation and the respective trade unions. The protocol was signed in the presence of Mr. Dumitru Popescu, minister of industry.

Esteemed listeners, I would like to tell you that several rounds of negotiations have taken place before this last round, in the presence of Mr. Gheorghe Caraligea-Marculescu, prefect of Gorj County—I am mainly referring to an initial protocol signed on the first day, which had to be renegotiated, at the request of the strikers, through new meetings between the representatives of the strikers and of the management board. However, these talks did not lead to a solution and no common agreement could be reached on the disputed issues. Nevertheless, this labor conflict is over, and Mr. Marin Condeescu [president of the Rovinari Mining Trade Union Federation] announced the conclusion of this protocol to the miners gathered in the Targu Jiu center square; the miners accepted the agreement and the labor conflict ended. It was also decided that the coal production delays should be recovered over the next two weeks and that the miners' day should be celebrated on 14 August.

Therefore, nine days after the start of the strike, we have the possibility of announcing the end of this labor conflict.

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NATO Planes Attack Serb Targets Near Sarajevo

LD0508163594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1616 GMT 5 Aug 94

[Text] Washington, 5 Aug (TANJUG)—The Pentagon has reported that NATO planes are at present flying toward Bosnian Serb targets in the vicinity of Sarajevo. The action was undertaken, they say, because the Bosnian Serb forces today seized heavy weapons from a UN depot near Sarajevo.

Reports arriving currently from the U.S. Defense Department say that NATO planes are on the lookout for targets. At the same time the Department stresses that weather conditions are impeding the search for the targets singled out for attack. A meeting of Clinton's National Security Council is under way, briefing the President about any new developments.

Rose: Anti-Tank Gun Hit

AU0508193394 Paris AFP in English 1913 GMT 5 August 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Aug 5 (AFP)—NATO warplanes attacked a Serb anti-tank gun near Sarajevo on Friday to punish a breach of the heavy weapons exclusion zone, UN Bosnia commander Lieutenant General Sir Michael Rose said.

"We think we destroyed it," Rose told reporters here in his first official comment following the air-strike, which took place at 1632 GMT.

Two warplanes from the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation were involved in the attack he said.

Rose Threatens New Strikes

AU0508210494 Paris AFP in English 2056 GMT 5 Aug 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Aug 5 (AFP)—The UN's commander in Bosnia threatened late Friday fresh air strikes against Bosnian Serb targets around Sarajevo unless heavy weapons violating the exclusion zone were placed under UN control.

"I expect to see those weapons back by tomorrow (Saturday) or we will continue with the operation" Lieutenant General Sir Michael Rose told journalists after NATO planes attacked an anti-tank gun in the zone Friday evening.

UN Official Hails Strikes

AU0508202094 Paris AFP in English 2003 GMT 5 Aug 94

[Excerpt] Zagreb, Aug 5 (AFP)—The UN military commander in former Yugoslavia hailed late Friday as a "complete success" NATO air strikes launched earlier in the day against Bosnian Serb targets near Sarajevo.

General Bertrand de Lapresle said the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation attacks targeted four heavy weapons seized overnight Thursday [4 August] by the Serbs from a UN collection point close to the Bosnian capital. "The operation was a complete success," he told reporters here. The number of sites targeted by the NATO planes "corresponds to the number of heavy weapons" taken by the Serbs, he said.

"Our aim was only to hit a few targets, and a limited number of planes took part in the action," he said, adding that the UN and NATO had deliberately chosen the "isolated" sites to rule out any risk of casualties. De Lapresle said he was unable to give details on the number of planes deployed in the operation. [passage omitted]

UN Officer on Return of Weapons by Serbs

LD0608113094 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 0916 GMT 6 Aug 94

[By James Hardy, political editor, PRESS ASSOCIATION News]

[Text] A senior officer in the United Nations hierarchy today said he was confident that the Bosnian Serbs would soon return the last item of equipment illegally removed from a collection point.

Colonel James Daniell said the Serbs still possessed a tracked anti-aircraft gun but had promised to give it back. A NATO air strike yesterday led to the almost immediate return of four other pieces of heavy artillery snatched from a Ukrainian-guarded collection centre.

Col Daniell, a member of Lt-Gen Sir Michael Rose's staff, warned the Serbs that the United Nations protection force would face no difficulty in tracing the whereabouts of any items stolen. "This is now a matter for further negotiation, to try to make sure that the promise made yesterday is kept. We have every confidence that it will be," he said on BBC Radio 4's Today programme.

Asked what would happen if the equipment was not returned, he said: "We will have to see what takes place next. We will certainly make every effort to find it on the ground. There is every reason to suppose it is probably still in the total exclusion zone.

"Four weapons were traced yesterday by ground forces from Unprofor and I have every confidence we will probably be able to find this one as well. We have sufficient resources to find and track weapons taken out and block them in a position on the ground while further negotiations take place."

He said UN soldiers were not expected to endanger themselves to carry out their tasks and preferred to succeed through negotiation.

"The lion's tail is getting pretty used to being tweaked and following up the events in the right direction. We

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know a process of negotiation and continued negotiation and above all patience will see this through."

More Weapons Reportedly Seized

LD0608215594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 6 Aug 94

[Text] The command of the 1st Army Corps of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina has not yet received any reports on the real effects of the NATO actions yesterday against the aggressor's positions in the Sarajevo exclusion zone. It has not yet been [word indistinct] whether Karadzic's Serbs returned the stolen weapons to UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] control. However, [words indistinct] chetniks continued seizing UN-controlled weapons today—in Vogosca they seized three 120 mm mortars; in Poljine, one [word indistinct]; from Lukavica, one T-55 tank; [passage indistinct]

Rose, Mladic To Discuss Sarajevo Demilitarization

AU0808120294 Paris AFP in English 1151 GMT 8 Aug 94

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, Aug 8 (AFP)—The UN military commander in Bosnia is pressing to turn Sarajevo into a weapons-free zone and had urged the Bosnian Serbs to comply with the move, the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) said here Monday [8 August]. General Sir Michael Rose said in a letter to his Bosnian Serb counterpart, General Ratko Mladic, that such a measure would enhance security in and around the capital. According to the letter, copies of which were passed to the press by UNPROFOR, Rose is to examine the demilitarization option in a meeting with Mladic Wednesday.

"I would be very happy to consider a formal request from you now to withdraw all your heavy weapons," from the exclusion zone around Sarajevo, Rose told Mladic. [passage omitted]

Any full withdrawal of heavy weapons "would necessarily have to form part of a wider military agreement for the total demilitarization of Sarajevo," Rose said, adding that he would like to explore that option at Wednesday's meeting. [passage omitted]

Senior UNPROFOR officials admitted Monday that the mechanisms of any Sarajevo demilitarizartion were still very vague.

Spokeswoman Claire Grimes said the long-term aim of such an operation would be to ban all military activity by the warring parties within the exclusion zone. [passage omitted] She added that the demilitarization of Sarajevo would also require an expansion of the exclusion zone and an increase in the city's UNPROFOR contingent to ensure such an agreement was properly policed.

An unnamed UNPROFOR source stressed any serious moves to demilitarize Sarajevo would also have to be taken in conjunction with the Bosnian Government army currently defending the city. [passage omitted]

Krajisnik: Parliament To Proclaim 'State of War'

LD0608140094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1249 GMT 6 Aug 94

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 6 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Serb republic parliament will "proclaim a state of war, general mobilization, and will ration the supplies," said parliament president Momcilo Krajisnik on Saturday [6 August].

Addressing journalists at Pale, the political centre of Bosnian Serbs, Krajisnik noted that the parliament might take these decisions at its session in the next two days, as was reported by Reuters.

The Bosnian Serbs have not definitively rejected the "contact group" peace plan for Bosnia, Krajisnik explained and stressed that the plan had to be modified for the Bosnian Serbs to accept it, but this was rejected by the international community.

On Wednesday, the parliament decided that the final decision on the contact group peace plan on the territorial division of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina be made by the people at a referendum called for August 27-28, notwithstanding demands by the government of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic sent to the Bosnian Serb parliament to accept the peace plan drafted by the contact group for Bosnia.

The government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on Thursday, following the Bosnian Serbs' rejection of the plan, severed the ties between Yugoslavia and the Bosnian Serb Republic.

Krajisnik Clarifies Position

LD0708142594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1047 GMT 7 Aug 94

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Aug (TANJUG)—President of the Srpska republic [RS] assembly, Momcilo Krajisnik, told Radio Politika that a session of the RS assembly would be held soon, at which the government is expected to be constituted, "because the present one is resigning, and the prime minister designate has been charged with proposing new members."

Krajisnik did not specify when the session would take place, but added that the newly elected government should recommend "new measures, adjusted to the new situation," following the suspension of all financial transactions with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY].

The president of the RS assembly denied that a state of war would be declared. "We do not believe we will declare a state of war, but a wartime economy ... there is a difference ..." [ellipses as received], he said.

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Krajisnik also said that certain preparations had already been completed for the holding of the referendum, "provided we coordinate certain matters within a certain period of time. We wish to use this time, simultaneously with the preparations for the holding of the referendum, for negotiations, in case the other two sides wish to negotiate corrections to the map and other disputed issues."

"We will undertake these political activities alongside with preparations for a referendum, if we get a positive response from the contact group and the sides in the conflict—the Muslim and the Croat," said Krajisnik.

The RS assembly speaker said that the contact group had no direct talks with the RS leadership lately, "apart from a certain number of ambassadors who tried to contact us in various ways."

Krajisnik denied a report that a meeting between Martic and Karadzic had taken place and that the two allegedly discussed setting up a principality [knezevina].

"This is total misinformation," said Krajisnik and added: "We are far away from talks on some kind of a new solution that would turn the Srpska republic into a monarchy or a principality. This is not the key issue at present."

In connection with NATO air strikes Krajisnik said: "NATO bombed our positions causing considerable damage... [ellipses as received] even though a cause for such an action is completely unsubstantiated, as the Muslims had been launching strong attacks in the 200-km diameter around Sarajevo.

Our army requested the release of heavy weapons for defense purposes. Such an agreement was never reached and our soldiers seized the weapons themselves... [ellipses as received] An air strike followed and it was sheer luck no greater damage was done. However, the threat still exists," Krajisnik said in conclusion.

Karadzic Orders Strengthening of 'Work Brigades'

LD0608163094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1540 GMT 6 Aug 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 6 Aug (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic, today ordered the leaders of all municipal assemblies and executive councils on the territory of the republic to "immediately reinforce all compulsory work units and reorganize them to perform their tasks on the principle of work brigades."

A statement, forwarded to SRNA by the president's office, points out that "the compulsory work orders apply to the entire able-bodied population of the republic, regardless of nationality and creed. Absolute equality, without any form of discrimination."

It is necessary to establish the priority of tasks and duties which the compulsory work units will perform. The statement goes on to say: "Farming should take full priority, particularly the collection of agricultural and other produce for feeding the population and of cattle feed, to be collected from all arable land, particularly from farms of mobilized soldiers, families of killed or wounded soldiers, and war invalids."

"Factories and other enterprises should be additionally manned from the compulsory work units so that the production process should continue without interruption; damaged plants should be repaired and fresh production should begin."

"Leaders of municipal assemblies and of municipal executive councils are hereby instructed to obey this directive, while the government of the Srpska republic should become directly involved in following, streamlining, and informing about the implementation of these orders," SRNA says.

Karadzic Discusses Efforts to Counteract Blockade

LD0708190094 Belgrade Radio Yugoslavia in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 7 Aug 94

[Recording of Pale Srpski Radio-Televizija Studio Sarajevo Radio in Serbo-Croatian news report]

[Text] The situation in which the Srpska republic has found itself is tragic, incredible, and unexpected, Srpska republic president Radovan Karadzic told Serb Radio-Television yesterday. He added that we are regrouping as we are going along, and that we will find a solution to the new situation. We have understood that Serbia and Yugoslavia will no longer be able to accompany us and, in a way, we understand this. But we do not understand the harsh words addressed to us, interpreting our demands as whims, Karadzic said. Asked by a Serb Radio-TV journalist what measures will be taken now, President Karadzic said:

[Begin Karadzic recording] Of course, we have overcome the first shock and have started reorganizing our society and our state. We have already achieved considerable successes and established balance to replace certain things which have been withdrawn from us. We have spent the past few days intensively searching for a solution.

We must do what Serbia did in the first days of the blockade there: Turn to our own resources, and order the production of everything that was imported but can now be produced here. We have already applied this policy.

For two and a half years we have enabled our people to live in freedom. We did not introduce a state of war or any harsh measures. There was a great freedom, for importers and exporters and so on. We will continue with that freedom because it has been proven that a free society has much better prospects and is more productive—even under such difficult conditions—than a society overburdened with regulations and under complete government control of all aspects of its life. We will continue to treat the people in a free and considerate

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way, with the minimum of state regulation and pressure, to provide primarily what is necessary for the front. The basic thing for us is to uphold the front.

If it becomes necessary, we will introduce a state of war, but at the moment we do not want to accept a state of war because we have already been accused of opting for war. We did not opt for war. We chose peace, but a peace that will guarantee us freedom and independence. If it is necessary, we will introduce a state of war. If not, we will introduce a state of immediate danger of war, which we have had since the beginning of the war. We will find a solution.

Able-bodied people will be deployed either in combat or working brigades. Under my orders, the working brigades will be commanded by commanders, and presidents of municipal executive committees, who are closely linked with the economy, will supervise their work. The economy must not be short of workers. When it becomes necessary, recruits will be taken out of the working brigades and sent to combat brigades.

We have adopted a series of measures, and all ministers have put forward their proposals. By Monday or Tuesday the government will have completed documents outlining further steps. I am afraid that these will be unhappy pages in our history, but it is certain that the Serb nation will not allow to be divided so easily. Karadzic and Krajisnik and Martic or Serbian leaders are not important; the people are important, and they are now [words indistinct], and they will dictate our further steps.

We will take all measures to compensate for what has happened to us, but we will not take a single countermeasure, a single unfair action against Serbia. Our market will always be open to their information and their goods. We will maintain best relations with the people. [end recording]

Statement on New Measures

LD0608214894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2007 GMT 6 Aug 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 6 Aug (TANJUG)—The Srpska republic government session, chaired by President Radovan Karadzic, ended in Pale this evening.

SRNA carried a statement issued after the session, which says that today's Pale session "reviewed all the relevant aspects of the situation created by the unexpected imposition of sanctions against the Srpska republic by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

"After an extremely exhaustive and useful debate, conducted on the basis of analyses and proposals from all the ministries, direct measures and tasks to be taken and performed by the government and other relevant institutions were determined with regard to all important areas of state, economic, and social activities with the aim of preempting and alleviating the adverse effects of this blockade," the statement, signed by Information Minister Miroslav Tohol says.

The government particularly dwelled on "the functioning and responsibilities of all state bodies, as well as their engagement and cooperation, especially concerning tasks contributing to the defense and security of the country, maintaining the level of economic activities, and meeting the basic needs of the population."

"Emphasis was again laid on the full readiness of all responsible factors in the republic to contribute to the continuation of the peace process, but also on the determination to preserve the vital interests of the Serb people by the building and functioning of the Srpska republic as the best guarantor of their freedom and security," the statement says in conclusion, and stresses that "all those responsible for the implementation of these tasks will be informed in an appropriate manner about the envisaged measures and responsibilities."

Bosnian Serbs Reply to FRY on Peace Plan

LD0508194894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1854 GMT 5 Aug 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 5 Aug (TANJUG)—The government of the Srpska republic has sent a reply from today's session in Pale to the Government of Serbia and to Prime Minister Mirko Marjanovic regarding the letter which was sent to the Srpska republic state authorities on 2 August.

The text of the letter, carried by SRNA, reads:

"Esteemed prime minister, esteemed fellow ministers:

The Srpska republic government is in an uncomfortable and delicate position to reply to the letter you sent in connection with our decision on the fate of the Contact Group peace plan.

We are deeply affected by all that has been happening, above all as people and as Serbs. The brunt of the responsibility for peace has fallen on our shoulders, as if we were the masters of war and peace. This is a confusion of issues. You are accusing us of not being in favor of peace. We are indeed in favor of peace, but we oppose such unsatisfactory maps and solutions which place us in an inferior position and push us into an independent state of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

This unfortunate war, which has cost us so many lives, was not waged either for territorial percentages, nor for an obscure constitutional arrangement for an independent Bosnia-Herzegovina. We have never thought of any other goal except the right of the Serbian people to self-determination—a right which the international community has ensured for all other nations in former Yugoslavia. This government has worked toward this goal from the beginning and is now firmly standing by it. For this reason, talk about ensuring equality with the enemy refers to something for which no one in the Srpska republic has fought.

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You seem to have forgotten that a document expressing our national interests was on the negotiating table as long ago as November 1993; this document was rejected out of hand by only one side—the Muslims. We are openly asking whether we have become the masters of war or victims of a bankrupt policy allied with the formidable potential of the new imperial powers?

In our stands on the so-called peace plan, this government and the Srpska republic assembly have clearly stated their desire for peace. This opinion is shared by the people of the Srpska republic. We are asking you now: What was it about the peace plan that could not have been fathomed when the entire deal was contained in a map and a so-called working document on the elements of the constitutional arrangement which failed to mention, even implicitly, the implementation of the right to self-determination, to say nothing of the sovereignty you are so explicitly referring to?

What we would like to ask you is urgently to corroborate your assertions on the existence of guarantees for the international recognition of the Srpska republic's borders and its sovereignty with official Contact Group documents. Minister Kozyrev's verbal clarifications carry weight only if they are backed by documents drawn up by bodies authorized to negotiate and mediate by the international community. We are wondering whether we were really asking for too much, or perhaps the impossible, when declaring ourselves on the peace plan. Having encountered a wall of rejection, we are wondering how this plan will be implemented, bearing in mind that any corrections are out of the question.

You claim that the citizens of the Srpska republic have not been informed about the stands expressed by President Milosevic and your government. They have, conscientiously and in detail, just as much as you had informed the citizens of Serbia. Serbian radio and television's informative programs are regularly and daily followed on the entire territory of the Srpska republic, government and opposition papers and publications are also distributed wherever wartime conditions permit. However, Serbian radio and television has taken our merely half-hour long television program off the air. The publication of this letter, as well as the letter sent by the Srpska republic assembly, will test the extent of your willingness to allow the public at large to be informed.

Perhaps the citizens of Serbia cannot comprehend our rejection of the proposed maps, but we can responsibly assure you that every citizen of the Srpska republic is well aware of the precision and expertise invested in depriving us of our natural resources and our most important infrastructure facilities, while our territory is being fragmented and practically reduced to three enclaves. In this regard we never even mentioned any percentages, but only conditions for the survival of the statehood we obtained through tremendous self-sacrifice.

What is even more important is our right to live in our own sovereign state, i.e. the right to establish contacts with the states and nations to which we are naturally inclined and of whom we are an integral part.

Since we have found ourselves in a situation of not sharing the opinion about ways of resolving the conflict in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, I beg you: Let us discuss these differences as brothers and avoid accusations of nonexistent intentions and motives. We believe that the method of spreading lies and manipulations can have very damaging consequences for our overall relations. If you cannot give us support—and we understand you completely—we beg you to leave us to face our own fate ourselves.

However, we do not understand and do not accept the words with which and the way in which you are telling us this. We are also astounded by the punitive measures which you are taking, which are more damaging than the ones which the international community has taken against the Serbian nation.

Fraternal greetings

[Signed] The government of the Srpska republic

[Dated] 5 August 1994

Pale Government Session Discusses Isolation

LD0608183694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1718 GMT 6 Aug 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 6 Aug (TANJUG)—The government of the Srpska republic began its extraordinary session in Pale today, at which it will discuss the adoption of a series of measures aimed at overcoming the situation created by the total isolation of the Srpska republic, SRNA reports.

This extraordinary session is the second convened in the past two days to review the problems facing the Srpska republic following the decision by the government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to sever all political and economic relations with the Srpska republic.

Blockade To Bring Industrial Production to Halt

LD0608215794 Belgrade Radio Yugoslavia in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 6 Aug 94

[Recording of Pale Srpski Radio-Televizija Studio Sarajevo Radio in Serbo-Croatian news report]

[Text] Commenting on the impact of the Serbian and Montenegrin blockade on the economy of Banja Luka, Predrag Radic, president of the Banja Luka municipal assembly, said that most of what is being produced in Banja Luka will no longer be produced within 15 days.

All production dependent on raw materials imported from Yugoslavia will grind to a halt. For instance, I have been informed by the brewery that a shipment of malt necessary for the production of beer was turned back from the (?Rake) border crossing point. Similar examples abound.

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Not even trucks transporting medicines are allowed to cross into the Serb Republic, which best illustrates the nature of this blockade.

We in Banja Luka will have to determine within a week what we can produce ourselves; it looks as if all other products will have to be rationed if the situation does not change, Radic added.

Banja Luka Serbs Rush Shops Amid Ration Fears

AU0708144794 Paris AFP in English 1419 GMT 8 Aug 94

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 7 (AFP)—Residents of Banja Luka, the Bosnian Serbs' main town, rushed shops at the weekend amid fears they might soon face rationing as their former Belgrade ally pressed on with its trade blockade, television reported here.

Serbia appeared to be standing firm on its Thursday [4 August] pledge to cut off supplies to its Bosnian Serb clients and end diplomatic links to punish them for rejecting an international peace plan.

Meanwhile, Bosnian Serb Assembly leader Momcilo Krajisnik Sunday [7 August] said that while the Bosnian Serb leadership in Pale, near Sarajevo, did not intend introducing a state of war, it was time to put the country on "a war economy footing".

"We don't think we are going to going to introduce a state of war, but we believe it is necessary to change over to a war economy," the Bosnian Serb SRNA news agency quoted him as saying.

Late Saturday [6 August], Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic ordered all able-bodied people to organize into "work and defense" brigades.

Priority would go to working in the fields, he said, in a reference to the need to produce their own food.

At Bosnian Serb leaders' headquarters in Pale, near Sarajevo, the "government" decided on unspecified "measures" to cope with the new situation, the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA said.

Meanwhile reports from the border between Serbia and the Serb-controlled part of Bosnia on Sunday indicated the embargo was strictly enforced, three days after it came into force.

Belgrade's Politika television station reported here that civilians in Banja Luka, the second largest town in Bosnia-Herzegovina with a population of more than 100,000 before war broke out 27 months ago, feared rationing could soon be imposed.

Industry in the so-called Srpska republic, which consists of 70 percent of Bosnia-Herzegovina, is already running at just 15 percent capacity.

But the situation looks set to worsen considerably if Serbia, which provides most of the resources and spare parts, continues to block the delivery of supplies.

FRY Cuts Phone Links to Serbs, Seals Border

LD0608195094 Belgrade Radio Yugoslavia in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 6 Aug 94

[Recording of Pale Srpski Radio-Televizija Studio Sarajevo Radio in Serbo-Croatian news report]

[Excerpt] Telephone links between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Srpska republic have been severed since 2300 last night. We have learned unofficially that there was no malfunction in the telephone network on the territory of the Srpska republic, but that the disconnection most probably occurred in Belgrade, whose exchange handles telephone links to the Banja Luka Krajina, Pale Herzegovina, and Semberija.

The border between Montenegro and Herzegovina has been blocked since 1000 on 4 August. Not one truck nor freight vehicle has crossed into the Srpska republic, not even trucks transporting food, SRNA's correspondent from Bileca was told at the Vracani border crossing point.

According to Bosnian Serb border officials, Montenegrin customs officers have received official orders not to let any goods cross the border, regardless of whether the necessary permits are produced—not even transit goods. [passage omitted]

AFP: FRY Enforcing 'Embargo' Against Serbs

AU0508133894 Paris AFP in English 1315 GMT 5 Aug 94

[Excerpts] Sremska Raca, Yugoslavia, Aug 5 (AFP)—A trade embargo imposed Thursday [4 August] by Yugoslavia against the Bosnian Serbs appeared to be strictly enforced Friday at this border post, 120 kilometers west of Belgrade. Some 50 trucks and six to seven fuel-laden tankers, said to be for a hospital in Doboj, have been blocked at the border since Thursday 10 p.m. (2000 GMT), according to several drivers who wanted to remain anonymous.

The government of rump Yugoslavia—Serbia and Montenegro—Thursday said it was breaking off economic and political ties with the Bosnian Serb leadership because of its refusal to accept the international peace plan for Bosnia.

Border guards, who did not hide their anger, said not a single laden truck had been allowed across the border into Bosnian Serb-held territory. A trucker who was to deliver medecine, flour and vegetable oil to Teslic, a town near Doboj, said he too had been refused passage even though the embargo does not concern food, clothes or medical equipment.

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Only a few empty trucks were allowed into Bosnian Friday morning, along with private cars. [passage omitted]

A bus linking Belgrade to Pale was cancelled Friday morning, according to a Pale resident and would-be passenger. [passage omitted]

Serbs in Bosnia, Croatia To Unite Under Prince

AU0808133094 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6-7 Aug 94 p 20

[R.B.-attributed report: "Srpska Republic and Republic of Serbian Krajina To Unite Into Principality of Serbian States"]

[Text] It appears that the unification of the Srpska republic and the republic of Serbian Krajina will come about very soon. As BORBA has found out, the leaderships of these two Serbian republics met two days ago, just after the republic of Serbian Krajina had held an extraordinary session, and opted for unification.

According to the information that "leaked" from that meeting, the new country—created from the Srpska republic and the republic of Serbian Krajina—would be called the principality [knezevina] of Serbian states, and the prince would be Prince Tomislav Karadjordjevic, if he accepts the offer. If this information is correct, it obviously means that an old idea has again been made topical.

BORBA's source says that there are plans for the constitution of "a government in permanent session," which would have six ministries, just like the war government of Nikola Pasic [prime minister of Serbia during World War I]. Radovan Karadzic would be prime minister, Milan Babic would be minister of the interior, Stojan Spanovic would be foreign minister, while Ratko Mladic would be war minister. Goran Hadzic is also mentioned as a possibility.

At the meeting between the leaderships of the Srpska republic and the republic of Serbian Krajina there was talk that "overthrowing Milosevic is now a priority task," but we have not managed to find out what steps would be undertaken to that end.

Izetbegovic Reacts to Milosevic Support for Plan

LD0608184994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 6 Aug 94

[Text] Asked to comment on Milosevic's acceptance of the Contact Group's plan, Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina presidency, gave an exclusive statement to the Bosnia-Herzegovina news agency, BH Press.

Milosevic did not harm Bosnia-Herzegovina in words, President Izetbegovic said, and therefore the evil inflicted cannot be corrected only with words. This was not a verbal attack, a verbal offense against Bosnia-Herzegovina, and an excuse or a statement is not sufficient. Under Milosevic's leadership, Serbia carried out aggression against this country, and those who were sent here and armed by him committed an unprecedented crime. Now, much more than words and a mere commitment for peace are needed. At the moment, both here and abroad, there is much speculation on the relation between Milosevic's acceptance of the Contact Group's peace plan and the sanctions against Serbia. The strict consequential linkage of these issues is unfounded. The regime of sanctions in the final analysis depends on the behavior of Karadzic's Serbs.

We would like to draw attention to this suggestion contained in the communique issued by the Contact Group ministerial meeting held on 30 July 1994: Milosevic's stance is relevant inasmuch as it has an effect on the final result, which is halting the aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina. Milosevic launched this aggression. He armed Karadzic's army, and he left them over 1,000 tanks and over 2,000 pieces of heavy artillery. Let him disarm them as he armed them some time ago, President Izetbegovic said. Let him recognize Bosnia-Herzegovina. Let him allow the deployment of observers along the borders. These are actions and are concrete. What we have received from Milosevic so far are only words, they obviously are not sufficient, Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina presidency said in his statement for BH Press.

Presidency Issues Proclamation to 'Occupied Areas'

LD0608221994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 6 Aug 94

["Text" of "proclamation" signed by President Alija Izetbegovic, on behalf of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, to people living in "temporarily occupied areas"—read by announcer]

[Text] On behalf of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina I am addressing you, the citizens of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, living in temporarily occupied areas. Regardless of your reasons for staying where you are, I am calling on you to voice your commitment for peace. The Greater Serbia project has definitely failed. It failed because it is based on the destruction of Bosnia- Herzegovina as an internationally recognized state, but more than that, because it is also based on genocide and ethnic cleansing. Can a state of any kind, anywhere, be based on killing and evicting the civilian population? On the destruction of religious facilities, libraries, and hospitals? Do you know, were you informed, that Bosnia-Herzegovina has been recognized by 83 states, including all of the important and big countries without exception? Those of you who have not stained your hands with blood are welcome. We shall accept you as equal citizens of our common state of Bosnia-Herzegovina under the condition that you

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commit yourselves to peace and against war. Our army, which includes both Serbs and Croats, is not a vengeful army.

It is not an anti-Serb army. Its banner contains blue fleurs-de-lis, not skulls. Our common state of Bosnia-Herzegovina has all conditions necessary to become a state in which the rights of all of its citizens will be respected and protected. In the meantime do what you as humans must do: Stand up to protect the small number of the remaining Bosniaks and Croats and your other neighbors in Banja Luka, Prijedor, Sanski Most, Bosanski Brod, Brcko, Bijeljina, Trebinje, and elsewhere in temporarily occupied areas of our country, where they are exposed to eviction. Refuse to obey the orders of those who are in favor of continuing the war and suffering. What the entire civilized world is against cannot continue, says the proclamation of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Croats Forcibly Mobilized Into Bosnian Army

LD0508134594 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 5 Aug 94

[Text] Despite agreements reached within the leadership of the Croat-Bosniak Federation that the Bosnia-Herzegovina army would cease to mobilize Croats and that they could be mobilized only into the Croatian Defense Council within the Third and Seventh Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina army, the forced mobilization of Croats from areas supervised by these two corps is continuing. According to the liaison officer of the 91st Travnik Home Brigade, over the past few days the district military court of the Bosnia-Herzegovina army has instigated proceedings against 18 Croats from (Sliveno) in the municipality of Travnik, and they are preparing to summon to court yet more Croats who have refused to be mobilized.

HVO, Army Discuss Issue

LD0608142494 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 6 Aug 94

[Text] The presidential council of Herceg-Bosna is in session in Mostar today. Last week's visit to central and northern Bosnia by Kresimir Zubak, the president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, and a visit to Konjic by a Herceg-Bosna delegation were discussed. Ankica Posavljak has the report.

[Posavljak] Both reports—the one on Kresimir Zubak's visit to Tuzla, Zenica, Usora, Zepce, and Kiseljak, and the one on the Herceg-Bosna delegation's visit to Konjic the day before yesterday—were approved. The main headquarters of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] was tasked with establishing contact as soon as possible with the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army command in order to solve certain disputed issues, primarily the mobilization of Croats into units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and a pardon for those who have refused to be mobilized so far.

THe presidential council of Herceg-Bosna also decided today that it would be requested of the Bosnia-Herzegovina army command that a mojahedin unit be moved from the Croatian village of Podbrezje in the Zenica municipality.

The presidential council also tasked Kresimir Zubak and Jadranko Prlic, defense minister in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government, with going to Bugojno immediately. Croats in that town are still living under difficult conditions. Expert working groups should be formed to work on the implementation of the Washington agreement at local level.

An official statement will be issued later from the second half of the session, at which appointments to some important positions in the government of the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna and the HVO will be made.

Ganic: Kalinovik Incident Undermines Karadzic

AU0508201794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 4 Aug 94

[Excerpts] Regarding the aggressor's seizure of the heavy weapons that were under UN Protection Force control in Ilidza, Ejup Ganic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and vice president of the Federation, stated the following for domestic and foreign correspondents:

[Begin Ganic recording] We are surprised by what is going on. We have demanded an urgent NATO action. [passage omitted]

I have protested and demanded an immediate NATO action because this is a calculated strategy, namely, the closing of checkpoints and seizure of heavy weapons from UNPROFOR. This is an attempt by Karadzic's Serbs to return [passage indistinct]. [end recording]

Dr. Ganic was also asked to comment on the rebellion in Kalinovik. Let us listen to what he said:

[Ganic] You see, this regime must disintegrate from within, because [words indistinct] within [words indistinct]. It is obvious that Karadzic and his clique lack legitimacy as far as the Serbian people in Serbia are concerned, as well as in remaining [words indistinct] and, naturally, he does not enjoy legitimacy as far as the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina are concerned.

I hope that the Serbian people will finally find the strength to renounce these war [words indistinct]. [end recording]

Ganic Calls For International Border Controls

AU0508093694 Munich ARD Television Network in German 2030 GMT 4 Aug 94

[Interview with Bosnian Vice President Ejup Ganic by Martin Weiss in Sarajevo on 4 August—recorded; interview in English with superimposed German translation]

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[Text] [Weiss] The official authorities in Bosnia consider the pictures of the controls at the border between Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina to be mere propaganda.

[Ganic] The border is not closed. Only if Milosevic allows international troops to patrol along the border between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia can one speak of progress. Milosevic must also withdraw his advisers, officers, soldiers, and the logistical support. At the same time, he must also recognize the unity and sovereignty of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Only then can one speak of a change.

[Weiss] Karadzic has announced an allout war. Can the Bosnian Serbs win over the Muslims without any help?

[Ganic] They can fight against us but they cannot win. They can of course destroy a great deal. They can again kill thousands of civilians. However, if the international community wants to adopt precautionary measures against Karadzic, who is only Milosevic's marionette and who calls for an allout war—you know what that means—the international community must act quickly to achieve a balance in the entire region.

UNPROFOR Base Suffers 7 Explosions

LD0608144294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 6 Aug 94

[Text] At 1335 today there were two powerful explosions in UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Force's] base housed in the (?Ministry of Internal Affairs) training center on Vraca. A series of five explosions were heard soon afterward, following which a column of smoke rose from the building. Around 1400 [1200 GMT] everything calmed down and the smoke cleared. An UNPROFOR truck was seen in front of the building, but it was unclear whether it had been there during the explosions or whether it had arrived later. The causes and consequences of the explosions are not known, the information service of the First Corps [of the Bosnia-Herzegovina army] has reported.

Serb Council Head Criticizes Pale Decision

LD0408233194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 4 Aug 94

[Text] The Pale parliament is not looking toward the future, Mirko Pejanovic, president of the Serb Consultative Council said, commenting on the Pale parliament's decision to call a referendum.

They have become so drenched in blood that they want to defy the entire world. No reason was present in the Pale parliament; everything was dominated by insanity, war, hatred, mistrust, and a craving for power, Pejanovic noted.

Karadzic received the arms belonging to the former Yugoslav People's Army and logistical support from Serbia. He is no longer happy with the fact that the international community's plan has given him half of Bosnia and the so-called Srpska republic and its autonomy within Bosnia-Herzegovina. He now wants an independent state, a state to become the center of Serbdom. What he conquered through bloodshed and crime was possible because of Milosevic's support.

Pejanovic asked what a referendum in which half of the Serbs who had lived in Bosnia-Herzegovina before the war could mean, and answered that there are some 600,000 Serbs in the territory now controlled by Karadzic: 400,000 are refugees, while 200,000 are living in the free territories.

The keys to the end of the war are to be found in the international community's measures and Milosevic's dissociation with Karadzic's suicidal policies. The time has finally come for the international community to revoke Karadzic's right to represent all Serbs, Pejanovic concluded in today's statement for the public.

Serb Long-Range Artillery 'Pounding' Zvornik

AU0808093594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 8 Aug 94

[Report by Nijaz Banjanovic from the Zvornik front]

[Text] Yesterday evening and overnight on the free Zvornik territory were marked by the usual chetnik small arms and antiaircraft weapon fire directed at the positions of the fighters of the (?4th) Chivalrous Brigade.

This morning at 0800 the chetniks started pounding civilian targets on the free territory with long-range artillery. The heaviest tank fire from (?Kitovnice) has been directed at Nezuk, while Zvornik has been targeted by 155-mm howitzers from (?Klisa). The shelling is under way as we file this report, and we still have not received information about possible casualties.

All the defense lines are firm and stable.

Serb Army Movement Intensifies in Sarajevo Area

AU0808093694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 8 Aug 94

[Text] The [Bosnia-Herzegovina Army] 1st Corps reports that over the last 24 hours the [Serbian] enemy has reduced his activities on the Sarajevo front to sporadic small arms fire and a few hand grenades. However, the aggressor has intensified the regrouping of his forces along the entire demarcation line, and the movement of his military vehicles has also been on the increase. A convoy of military vehicles—three buses, three trucks, and a number of smaller vehicles—has been registered moving along the Vojkovici-Vrace route with their lights muted. A convoy of eight buses and a number of transport vehicles moving along the Vraca- Trebevic route—also with muted lights—had a police escort. A tank passed last night in the Reljevo-Butila-Blazuj direction. Over the last few days increased military vehicle

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traffic has been observed from Trnovo to Lukavica. A bus full of Chetniks arrived from Trnovo at the barracks in [word indistinct].

Muslim Forces Reject Proposal To End Attacks

LD0708140394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1136 GMT 7 Aug 94

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 7 (TANJUG)—Moslem forces have turned down a proposal by the command of the U.N. peacekeeping force in Bosnia to end attacks on the Bosnian Serbs in central Bosnia.

They continued an offensive they started a few days ago, the U.N. Protection Force [UNPROFOR] has said.

As foreign agencies reported, UNPROFOR spokesman Rob Annink said on Saturday evening that Bosnian Serbs had accepted the cessation of military operations and the stationing of a battalion of Canadian peacekeepers between the warring sides on the Vares frontline. Annink said the forces loyal to the Moslem authorities in Sarajevo in alliance with the Bosnian Croat forces had scored significant advances south of Vares, a town about 35 km north of Sarajevo. Annink said the hottest battlefront was around Breza, about 20 km northwest of Sarajevo, where intense artillery and mortar exchanges were reported.

The Serbs explaived that due to this Moslem offensive the incident near Ilidza took place on Friday, when they seized a gun, two personnel carriers and one anti-aircraft gun from U.N.-controlled weapons-collection depot. The Serbs justify this step by saying it was needed to secure their defences on this section of the front, said Annink.

Due to an attempt to get hold of some of their weapons under U.N. control since February 20, in order to defend themselves, Serbs on Friday were exposed to an intervention by NATO planes.

Annink said the U.N. commander in Bosnia, General Michael Rose, met with commander of the Bosnian Serb army, General Ratko Mladic, on Saturday. UPI reported that the purpose of the meeting was to defuse the tension and avoid incidents similar to the one on Friday.

UN Warns Sarajevo Faces 'Huge' Food Shortage

AU0808105594 Paris AFP in English 1011 GMT 8 Aug 94

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, Aug 8 (AFP)—Sarajevo could soon be facing a "huge shortage of food", a UN spokesman said Monday [8 August] as other UN sources reported that the city had enjoyed 24 hours of relative calm.

UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) spokesman Peter Kessler said the siege of the city reimposed by the Bosnian Serbs two weeks ago, coupled with the suspension of the UN humanitarian airlift following Friday's NATO airstrikes meant the UNHCR was currently only able to provide bread for 34,000 people as opposed to the 440,000 rations normally distributed.

Kessler added the most recent distribution of basic foodstuffs—flour, beans and grain—carried out last Wednesday, had only provided "a fraction" of supplies needed for the coming two weeks.

He did not say what proportion of the required daily ration of 453 grammes people in Sarajevo were actually receiving.

The humanitarian airlift could be operational again Wednesday if the situation in Sarajevo is deemed safe enough, a UN source, who asked not to be named, said. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman in Sarajevo, Lieutenant Colonel Bertrand Labarsouque, said Monday Serb snipers, who have terrorised passers-by in recent days, had carried out no new attacks since Sunday.

The spokesman said there had been 550 ceasefire violations around the Bosnian capital Sunday. While this figure was up on violations in the middle of July, over all it showed a decrease, he said.

The spokesman said the recent lull in sniper attacks was largely due to an increased UN presence in sensitive areas. However he also conceded that since the Sarajevo authorities had closed down the city's tram system, the snipers had been deprived of their most obvious target.

The majority of sniper victims—two dead and 20 wounded—were tram passengers.

Labarsouque, said UNPROFOR and the Sarajevo authorities were currently discussing the best way to protect tram passengers.

He also said that, owing to a lack of Serb cooperation, anti- sniper patrols, announced by UNPROFOR at the end of last week, had not yet been deployed. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, UN commander for ex-Yugoslavia, General Bertrand de Lapresle, was due to travel to Belgrade Monday for possible talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, a diplomatic source said in the Serbian capital Monday.

The purpose of the visit was not immediately clear and the source declined to elaborate, saying only that the French general was expected to spend "a few hours" in Belgrade.

However, the UN commander could meet both Milosevic and the chief of staff of rump Yugoslavia's armed forces, General Momcilo Perisic, the source added. [passage omitted]

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Government Terms Belgrade Move 'Insufficient'

LD0508143294 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 5 Aug 94

[Text] In connection with the announcement by the Belgrade government regarding the severing of political ties with the Belgrade Serbs [as heard], the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Croatia has issued the following statement:

The Government of the Republic of Croatia considers the recent decision by the Belgrade authorities a small step in the right direction, but also as very insufficient. Belgrade has allegedly proclaimed the suspension of its political ties with the Bosnian Serb leadership, but it has not even verbally cut off political ties with their equally belligerent proteges in the occupied areas.

Before making any judgements concerning future deliberations and decisionmaking within the contact group and the UN Security Council, the international community and the Republic of Croatia in particular, have yet to see what concrete measures the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, i.e. Serbia and Montenegro, will take to sever the real military and economic help to their proteges in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

First of all, the international community must follow and assess what impact these measures have on the situation on the ground, and how long their impact and effect will last. In this connection, the Government of the Republic of Croatia wishes to stress that strict monitoring and effective supervision of the border between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia is the most important factor for achieving a real change of the situation in the occupied areas of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

Therefore, the Government of the Republic of Croatia is calling on the international community, especially the contact group, to persevere in their current efforts to maintain or even step up diplomatic and real pressure on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] until Belgrade, in a similar way clearly and irrevocably shows its good intentions by severing its relations with the self-styled authorities in the occupied areas of the Republic of Croatia, thus lending its first rational contribution to the peaceful reintegration of the UN protected areas.

Welcoming the recent announcement by Belgrade, regardless of its insufficiency, the government of the Republic of Croatia wishes to remind all the relevant parties of the fact that the real process of the political stand can be assessed as positive only once the FRY has fully and unequivocally recognized Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Slovenia, and Macedonia within their internationally recognized borders. As far as the real state of affairs is concerned, this process can be assessed as positive only after the Belgrade authorities begin taking concrete and permanent military and economic measures concerning their proteges in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

The Croatian Government believes that if the recent announcement by Belgrade is considered a bona fide recognition of the contact group peace plan in its entirety, including the part referring to the UN protected areas [in Croatia], the FRY should immediately take the next logical step and display its peace-loving intentions by recognizing the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and in accordance with the Naples decisions of the G-7 plus one and all other former Yugoslav republics—Croatia in particular. This will create conditions for the peaceful and permanent resolution of the crisis, the statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Croatia says.

Pakrac Police Fire on Argentine Peacekeepers

LD0508185294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1744 GMT 5 Aug 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Pakrac, Aug. 5 (TANJUG)—Croat police on Thursday fired on Argentinian peacekeepers at a checkpoint near the town of Pakrac, about 100 km southeast of Zagreb, a U.N. spokesman said Friday.

The incident occured when two armoured personnel carriers of the Argentinian peacekeeping battalion drove through a barricade set up by the police to prevent peacekeepers from entering the Serb-held area around the town of Pakrac. The U.N. Protection Force [UNPROFOR] personnel were investigating shooting reported 11:50 p.m. Thursday night between Serb and Croat troops in the area. The personnel carriers are now in the Serb area around Pakrac, because the Croats refused to let them return.

The incident resembles other such confrontations in which Polish, Ukrainian, Belgian and other peacekeepers have also had to run through Croatian police barricades to perform their duties.

UNPROFOR Headquarters in Zagreb has again said they consider the blockade of peacekeepers unacceptable and that they will take measures to counter the blockade.

Croat refugees on July 1 began blockading UNPROFOR personnel in Croatia. U.N. personnel have since said Zagreb officials are directing the action.

U.N. Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali said July 28 that the Security Council should take action against Croatia because Croatian police were involved in the blockade. The Security Council subsequently expressed "concern" over the situation.

Refugees Lift Blockade of Five UN Checkpoints

LD0808110294 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 8 Aug 94

[Text] Mato Simic, president of the Association of Refugees, sent a letter to the [Croatian] Government saying that the association is ready to consider lifting the

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blockade of the remaining UNPROFOR checkpoints if the Government of the Republic of Croatia and UNPROFOR will guarantee the return of refugees to the blue and pink zones or to the villages included in the so-called pilot program of enabling [refugees to] return within a reasonable period of time. They should also guarantee the work of mixed commissions for the search for missing and imprisoned people.

The letter goes on to say that in line with the government's demand and an agreement between the Association of Refugees and government representatives, the blockade of the following checkpoints will be lifted from today: Brest, north of Petrinja, Glinska Poljana, northeast of Petrinja, Vojnovac, west of Slunj, Sajnerica near Otocac, and finally Lipik, on the main road south of Lipik, under the condition that the Croatian Government ensures constant police presence at a gas station.

Defense Minister Susak Addresses Sinj Gathering

LD0708210494 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 2000 GMT 7 Aug 94

[Excerpts] Defense Minister Gojko Susak, President Franjo Tudjman's special envoy, has addressed several thousand people gathered at a ceremony of the medieval lancing tournament in Sinj. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] The president's envoy, Gojko Susak, awarded the winner with the prize and Tudjman's present—a gold ring with the state emblem engraved on it—and addressed the people.

[Begin Susak recording] It is my honor to greet you and award you the prizes on behalf of the president of the Republic and supreme commander. But before that, let me say just a few words.

This is the fourth year that we are celebrating our history in the old, ancient Croatian town of Sinj, while only 15 km away the enemy's weapons are pointed at us. Ladies and gentlemen, over the past four years the Croatian leadership has shown that we were and are ready to guarantee them all the rights granted to any minority in any law-governed state. But I can assure you and swear to God that at the next lancing tournament those guns will not be pointed at Sinj. [applause]

This is not 1991 when we were empty handed, without army and without equipment. We have an army and weapons today, but we are still not resorting to war but are calling Belgrade, Pale, and Knin to reason. We are calling upon them to get rid of those who are not in favor of talks and to let their people here and us settle all problems.

But if there is no agreement—and the time is running out—we will do what any sovereign state with an equipped army would do under the same circumstances. Dear residents of Sinj, this is why we are urging you to be reasonable and have patience, but also to be determined. If the time comes, the people living on this barren land will again—as always, like 279 years ago, like four years ago—if need be, protect the sovereignty and integrity of the Republic of Croatia with their blood.

In that spirit, as the president's envoy, I congratulate you on the tournament, I congratulate the winner. Gentlemen, it is not by chance that the duke of Sinj is the commander of Lika and Krbava. Lika and Krbava will have to be liberated. [applause] [end recording] [passage omitted on tournament]

Economic Relations With RSK Discussed in Knin

LD0508184494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1751 GMT 5 Aug 94

[Text] Knin, 5 Aug (TANJUG)—A delegation of the Republic of Croatia, including Hrvoje Sarinic, Croatia's negotiator with the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], and President Tudjman's advisor, Ivic Pasalic, met at the command of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] Sector South in Knin today with RSK Prime Minister Borislav Mikelic, and Foreign Minister Milan Babic. Minister Babic said after the meeting that the subject of the five-hour talks was the resumption of economic relations, which should be dealt with by teams of experts from both sides. No concrete agreements were reached at today's meeting, which was planned 10 days ago.

Babic disclosed that the Croatian representatives had requested the opening of the highway through western Slavonia without offering anything in return—a demand that could not be accepted.

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Government Determined To Observe Rome Treaty

AU0508160094 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 5 Aug 94

[Text] Following the instructions of Prime Minister Dr. Janez Drnovsek, Finance Minister Mitja Gaspari sent a letter to Italian Finance Minister Giulio Tremonti in which he asked his Italian colleague to notify him, by the beginning of September at the latest, of the number of a bank account to which Slovenia could pay the remaining sum of the compensation that stems from the provisions of the Rome Treaty, signed by the former SFRY and Italy in 1983.

In his letter, Finance Minister Gaspari emphasizes that Slovenia is aware that it must fulfill the mutually agreed provisions of the Rome Treaty and will, henceforth, if it does not, be forced to open a special bank account abroad into which it will pay the remaining compensation.

Namely, Article 4 of the agreement between the former Yugoslavia and Italy that was signed in Osimo in 1975 envisions that the governments of both countries will sign an agreement about fair and general lump-sum compensation, acceptable for both sides, in the shortest possible time to compensate for the property, the rights, and the interests of the Italian physical and legal entities on the part of the territory encompassed within the borders of the former SFRY.

The mutual obligations that stem from Article 4 of the Osimo Agreement were finally settled between the former SFRY and Italy in Rome, when they finally settled all mutual obligations stemming from Article 4 of the Osimo Agreement.

With this letter, Slovenia wishes to clearly express its determination for a consistent observation of the Rome Treaty provisions.

Defense Minister Reassigns Provincial Commanders

AU0508073194 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 2 Aug 94 p 2

[Report by "C.R.": "Jelko Kacin Appointed Three New Provincial Commanders"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 1 Aug—On the proposal of General-Colonel Albin Gutman, commander of the Republican Territorial Defense Headquarters, and with the prior consent of President Milan Kucan, Defense Minister Jelko Kacin has reassigned several senior officers.

As a result, Colonel Janez Kavar, hitherto deputy commander of the Upper Carniola Territorial Defense, became the commander of the Upper Carniola Territorial Defense; Major Janez Butara, hitherto commander of the Novo Mesto District Territorial Defense Headquarters, became the commander of the Lower Carniola Territorial Defense; while Lieutenant Ladislav Lipic, hitherto commander of the Hinterland Department in East Styria, became the commander of the East Styria Territorial Defense.

With the 28 July decree, the Government of the Republic of Slovenia appointed Bojan Suligoj, hitherto commander of the Upper Carniola Territorial Defense, as state secretary in the Defense Ministry.

Rade Klisaric, hitherto commander of the Lower Carniola Territorial Defense, and Alojz Steiner, hitherto commander of the East Styria Territorial Defense, will as of 1 August 1994 assume high officer posts in the Republican Territorial Defense Headquarters in Ljubljana.

The ceremonial hand-over between the former and new commanders of the Upper Carniola Territorial Defense will take place in Kranj tomorrow. The occasion will be attended by Defense Minister Jelko Kacin, the commander of the Republican Territorial Defense Headquarters, Albin Gutman, and State Secretaries Boris Znidaric and Gorazd Vidrih.

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Federal

UN Envoy Says Conditions Met To Lift Sanctions

LD0608000794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2250 GMT 5 Aug 94

[Text] New York, August 5 (TANJUG)—The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has met all conditions for the lifting of the sanctions and the U.N. Security Council should take this into consideration in deciding on further measures for a peaceful settlement to the Bosnian conflict, Yugoslav Ambassador to the U.N. Dragomir Djokic said on Friday. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has met all conditions set in the respective Security Council resolutions, within its political possibilities, because it is not a side in the Bosnian civil war, Djokic told a press conference at the U.N. headquarters.

We expect that the Security Council will take into very serious consideration the latest developments and take action in that respect to consider possibilities for adopting a resolution on the easing or suspension of the sanctions, Djokic said.

Djokic explained the stands of the Yugoslav Government and its latest decision to sever economic and political relations with Bosnian Serbs.

He said that the Serbian and Yugoslav leaderships had strongly pressured Bosnian Serbs to accept the Contact Group peace plan as the only way that could secure a continuation of the peace process.

Djokic said that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has always been for a peaceful settlement and will continue to have such a stand regardless of whether the international community will ease or tighten the sanctions which were imposed in May 1992.

He recalled that Yugoslavia had supported the Coutilleiro plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Vance-Owen plan and then also the one drawn up by the latest international mediators Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenerg.

The Security Council, however, ignored these facts and further tightened the sanctions with Resolution 820, he said.

Asked if the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia would accept foreign observers at its borders, since it has closed its border with the Bosnian Serb republic, Djokic said that this depended on whether they would be military or civilian observers and on their mandate.

In any event, if all factors were familiar, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia would seriously consider this possibility and take a corresponding stand, Ambassador Djokic said.

Parliamentarians Expect Lifting of Sanctions

LD0608153894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1520 GMT 6 Aug 94

[Text] Belgrade, August 6 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav parliamentarians on Saturday said they expected the international community and the United Nations to lift the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia at the earliest possible date.

They said they hoped Yugoslavia would also be allowed to return to the international community.

During talks on Saturday with a three-member mission of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, the Yugoslav parliamentarians said Yugoslavia had an active role in efforts to restore peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina on the basis of the "Contact Group" plan for that former Yugoslav republic.

The U.N. Security Council in May 1992 imposed comprehensive sanctions against the Yugoslav Federation of Serbia and Montenegro accusing it of being responsible for the civil war in neighbouring Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Yugoslav parliamentarians informed the Inter-Parliamentary Union mission about the Yugoslav legal provisions guaranteeing the highest human rights standards.

However, human rights are being violated precisely through the implementation of the tough anti-Yugoslav sanctions, it was heard in the talks.

The Inter-Parliamentary Union mission arrived in Yugoslavia to learn about Yugoslavia's stands on ways to settle the crisis in the territory of former Yugoslavia and the human rights situation in Yugoslavia.

Before arriving in Belgrade, the mission visited Zagreb, Sarajevo and Pale.

It is expected to submit a report to the Inter-Parliamentary Union conference called for early September in Copenhagen.

Bosnia Border Closure 'Strictly' Enforced

LD0708140794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1144 GMT 7 Aug 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 7 (TANJUG)—A decision by the government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on closing its border with the Bosnian Serb republic (R.S.) is being enforced strictly, the Yugoslav Information Ministry announced on Sunday. The announcement said that the shipments of allowed goods, checked by the federal and republican bodies in Belgrade, were shipped off through the Yugoslav Red Cross organization.

No shipments other than those exempted from this decision (food, clothing, medicine) have entered the R.S. since August 4 when the Yugoslav Government decided

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to break off its economic and political ties with the R.S. The Yugoslav Government decided to close its border with the R.S. when the R.S. parliament failed to respond to the appeals by the Yugoslav and Serbian Governments and by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to accept the "Contact Group" peace plan, and, at its session on Wednesday, called a referendum for August 27-28 for the citizens of the R.S. to make the final decision on this plan.

Trucks at Standstill

LD0508140394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1343 GMT 5 Aug 94

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 5 Aug (TANJUG)—Car traffic is moving normally across the border between the Srpska republic and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, following the decision of the Yugoslav Government to sever political and economic relations with the Srpska republic, while truck traffic has all but stopped, TANJUG correspondents report. [passage omitted]

Government Protests Sandzak Muslims Meeting

LD0508165294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1502 GMT 5 Aug 94

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Aug (TANJUG)—The sharpest protest by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] Government to the Government of the Republic of Turkey was handed today by the Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs [SMIP] to the Charge d'Affaires of the Turkish Embassy in Belgrade because Turkey facilitated the holding of a "symposium" of the so-called "Muslim National Council of Sandzak," attended by participants of the self-proclaimed members of the illegal "Sandzak assembly", in the offices of the state electricity company, TEK, in Ankara.

According to the SMIP statement it was underlined during the meeting that there was a bitter reception of the fact that shortly after the FRY Government's strong protest against the activities of the so-called "news agency of the Sandzak vilayet" the Turkish Government allowed a rally to go ahead during which stands were voiced which represent an open attack on the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the FRY. The protest was voiced because Turkey gave refuge to Sulejman Ugljanin, organizer of the "symposium," and permitted destructive and hostile activity against the FRY, although a warrant for his arrest had been issued. In order to achieve his separatist goals, Ugljanin publicly requested help from Turkey, offering it Sandzak as a "passage from Kosovo to Bosnia."

The SMIP also views this rally as only one in a series of activities by Sandzak separatists who are assisted by Turkish authorities and organizations, among which the SMIP singled out the unimpeded activities of the "news agency of the Sandzak vilayet," the sending of young Muslims to Turkey for education and training, discrimination regarding the visa regulations for Yugoslav citizens on the part of Turkish authorities, etc.

It was emphasized that the FRY Government notes with utmost dismay that official Turkey never bothered to publicly distance itself from the stances expounded by the Sandzak separatists, whose activities are being tolerated on its territory. By doing this Turkey is flagrantly violating universally accepted principles governing international relations, the UN Charter, and CSCE documents.

It was energetically pointed out that Turkey's conduct is unacceptable; by extending aid and support to the policies pursued by Sandzak separatists—despite assurances to the contrary—Turkey is continuing its direct and brazen meddling in the internal affairs of the FRY, by which it is threatening the very foundations of Yugoslav-Turkish relations and jeopardizing stability in the region. The FRY reserves the right to take appropriate measures in response to such conduct on Turkey's part.

It has been brought to Ankara's attention that the development of bilateral relations will be directly dependent on Turkey's future approach to these problems.

The Turkish Government has been requested to take resolute measures aimed at preventing the activities of Sandzak separatists on Turkish territory, the Federal Foreign Ministry's statement concludes.

Serbia

Muslim Leader on 'Special Status' for Sandzak

LD0708141094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0911 GMT 7 Aug 94

[Text] Pristina, 7 Aug (TANJUG)—Sulejman Ugljanin, the leader of the Party of Democratic Action for Sandzak, has said in an interview with the Pristina weekly ZERI that during his visit to Sarajevo he requested the Bosnian (Muslim) assembly to insist that the Contact Group review the Sandzak issue within the framework of the talks on Bosnia. Ugljanin claims that he never asked that Sandzak be annexed to Bosnia, but rather that it be accorded "special status," according to the principle of the inviolability of borders.

However, if the world allows the division of Bosnia and the unification of the Bosnian Serbs with Serbia, Ugljanin believes that this demand should be altered, for, as he was quoted by ZERI, "I cannot imagine an Albanian, Sandzakli, or person from Vojvodina, who would wish to rub shoulders with Karadzic and his ilk in the same parliament..." Reminded that he had once declared that "the future of Sandzak lies in a community with Kosovo," and asked whether he still thinks so, Ugljanin replied in the affirmative because, he said, "the number of those in Sandzak who share this view has increased."

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Smuggling Activities in Novi Pazar, Sandzak

94BA0349B Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jun 94 pp 30-31

[Article by Duska Anastasijevic and Tatjana Jovanovic: "A Battery-Powered Parrot"]

[Text] Plastic slippers, vacuum-cleaner attachments, toys, underwear, faucets, henna, pots and pans, glasses, shoes, lighters... and, of course, blue jeans.

"How much are the shoes?"

"Seventeen dinars, or 15 German marks [DM]."

The next moment you find yourself holding a pair of men's woolen socks in your hands and you are trying with all your strength to get the price reduced, when you are startled by the metal voice of a giant battery-powered parrot. It is able to repeat everything you say. "I think he is worth DM100," Izet says, hoping that he will never be sold.

The Original of the Forgery

The open-air market begins at the very heart of the town, at the bridge, then it winds along the Raska River and suddenly widens at a place where even now there is the ordinary vegetable market. Bananas, Bulgarian tomatoes, onions, and potatoes are being unloaded from trucks and unpacked. Little children are moving about between the stalls, pushing carts containing Coca-Cola in buckets of ice. The smoke spreads from the lighted charcoal grills, the sun is burning already, folk music is blaring.

This is not Istanbul, but Novi Pazar, a Balkan San Antonio. It is the kingdom of blue jeans.

In a city of some 60,000 inhabitants, there is hardly a house that is not involved in the blue jeans business in some way. Some are smuggling the cloth, others are cutting it, still others doing the sewing, and others do the selling. At present, they mostly are manufacturing "Levis" blue jeans, but there is no doubt that they would successfully copy with equal ease suits by Boss and Armani. "You can order an airplane here, provided you can pay for it," we were told by a young man at a stall. The people of Novi Pazar tell us that they have been making blue jeans for some 15 years now, and some have become so adept that it is difficult for even the expert to distinguish the forgery from the original.

Novi Pazar can be thankful to the sanctions for the way business of this kind has flourished now. The entire Yugoslav market is available to them. They make no secret that their principal customers are the elite boutiques in Belgrade, which buy "Levis" here at less than DM30 and sell them for more than 100. "You are no longer sure even in Germany and Italy," Mensur boasts. "Even there, they are selling 'Levis' from Pazar."

The cottage workshops have grown into true small factories, and some of them into plants hiring even 100 workers on three shifts. The denim, which is delivered in rolls from Turkey and Italy (the Italian is better and more expensive) goes through the phases of finishing here, even the most complicated and expensive operation—stone-washing. By mastering this process, the experts Fuad, Omer, Izet, and Samir have dangerously threatened Strauss and Company.

On Tuesdays and Sundays, market days, people earn the most, but also spend the most.

About 1600 hours, when the stalls are broken down and the madness begins to die down, people gather in the numerous coffee and tea shops and taverns, and in the evening they go to taverns with music, and then they compete in seeing who can pay the most for the music, who can buy more rounds of drinks. People here are ready to meet pleasure halfway, and they grasp it tightly. It is said that in one song the singer so touched an "industrialist" from Pazar, owner of a blue jeans factory, that he pulled out DM30,000. To be sure, he was celebrating the New Year. Although not as rich as the businessman referred to, a man from Pazar knows how to spend money and likes to do it. Some are sorry in the morning, but that is also a part of the tradition. In Novi Pazar, they call this the *tafra*.

In spite of the numerous traffic police, only the "speed bumps" can slow down the cars that race through the narrow streets where there are no red lights. People drive luxury Mercedes, but also horse-drawn wagons. There is a contrast in the concrete buildings smothering the old oriental urban architecture. Everything that has been left to the care of the state is neglected, but even the Novi Pazar people themselves, in spite of the money flowing into the city, show no desire to take things in their own hands—the streets are paved only in the center of the city, the hotel is going to ruin, as is the old inn, which has not had guests for a long time. The impression of wealth is more in the people than property. Authentic Pazarites have some inborn dignity. The men are striking and pay attention to their appearance, and the women are unusually beautiful, and their movements are relaxed and balanced.

In Novi Pazar, they do not like to recall the time when political tension was high. When you force them to remember this, people turn their eyes away, as if they are a bit ashamed that at one point nationalistic passions overcame the sound spirit of the tradesman. "There was a time here when one bullet could have set all of Sandzak on fire," says Ramiz Biberovic, by occupation a social worker, while we were sitting in his little cafe. "Fortunately, it passed over. People now are interested only in money, money, money."

Ramiz is one of the many waiting for the time of insecurity and tension to pass so that he could continue to build his house. Now building is being done again in

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Novi Pazar, houses whose completion was put off for better days are growing story by story.

In a dead-end street in front of the "parking lot for horses," Samir, Altan, Marko, Amir, and Sutko sit in the Evergreen Cafe. The table is so full of beer bottles there is no room even for the ash tray, and Metallica blares. "If someone had told me a few years ago that I would be a smuggler, I would spit in his face. Now even my father, a school principal, is working for me at the market."

Convoys

"They all think that we are thieves, moneygrubbers. I myself am at the market beginning at 0400 hours. Not to mention what it looks like making the trip to Istanbul. We have become like game animals on the run. The buses carrying smugglers have to travel in convoys through Bulgaria, because they encounter various gangs, and they do not dare to strike when there are several of us. Next week, I am buying a Mitsubishi bus. Then it will be easier, we pay DM300 just for a ticket."

Samir is 22 years old and is finishing his education to be a teacher in Pristina. He will put his diploma up on the wall, because he earns more than DM1,000 on one trip, and he makes four trips a month to Turkey.

During that time, there were drinks on the table. "This round is on the house," Sutko laughed. "This cafe has a tradition of the waiter drinking more than the guests and his name always begins with an S."

Only the younger Pazarites come to Evergreen. As if they have enough of not being able to choose their company at the market, they rush to the cafe where they can be what they are in peace: university students, former and future, programmers, accountants, or rap singers. When he is not going to Istanbul, and not spending money, Altan and his girlfriend Ilda dream about becoming famous rappers. Their group is called Excalibur, and they recently took second place in the championship of Yugoslavia. "There are many good rappers here. It is a shame that the main ones have gone off to Germany; they are paid to perform in discotheques there. They have asked me to come, but I cannot leave Pazar. When I go to Istanbul for three days, I think that Pazar has turned upside down," Altan relates.

Their friend Alma (age 18) does not think that way. For her, Pazar is cramped; she perceives the patriarchal ambient as a burden. She does not see her future here; she is happy to be going to Prague, where she is studying economics. "In my class alone, six have gotten married, and not a one will finish high school." Alma has a job on the youth radio, where she promotes the Pazar underground, her way of opposing the expansion of folk music. "Popular music has taken away one discotheque from us, and Bajaga and Van Gogh cannot sell even 500 tickets. So what incentive would others have to come here to perform?"

The young people listen to rap and heavy metal (of the "folk musicians," only Azra), but Nirvana also has rabid fans here. "When Kurt Cobain killed himself, Lucky shut himself up in the cafe and cried an entire day and night. I thought his mother had died. The next day his face was all swollen." We did not learn what happened after Aerton Sena's death.

Still, the fact that the airport is not going to open soon is no problem for enterprising people from this city.

On Sunday, everything still begins from the beginning, that is when the new lots of blue jeans have to be ready. "When will all this come to an end?"

"It will end when humanity commits suicide, because everyone has to wear 'Levis.'"

Kosovo

Serb Tank Convoys Reportedly in Pristina Streets

AU0608171994 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1635 GMT 6 Aug 94

[Text] The Albanian Telegraphic Agency [ATA] reports that, around midnight last night, movements by Serbian Army tanks were observed in Prishtina, passing along the main road in Dragodan Quarter and on other streets in the Kosovar capital.

Reports confirm that two tank convoys were spotted heading toward Mitrovice and a military barracks in the suburbs of Prishtina.

During the night, shots and raucous overflights by Serbian planes could be heard around Prishtina.

Serbian Police Fire on Albanian Villagers

LD0708222194 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 7 Aug 94

[Text] The Kosovo information center has reported that strong Serbian police forces today surrounded the village of Sajkovac near Podujevo in Kosovo and opened fire on several persons. According to the first reports, one person was killed and several arrested, HINA's correspondent in Pristina reports.

The Kosovo information center has also announced that the Serbian police have stepped up violence against Kosovo Albanians in the municipality of Podujevo. More than 1,000 Albanian houses have been searched since last autumn, and several thousand Albanians have been maistreated in the course of an alleged search for arms.

Rugova Cited on Application of Border Changes

AU0708202594 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Aug 94 p 14

[Report by B. Cani: "Any Change of Borders Will Apply to Us as Well"]

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[Text] The position of the Contact Group is that the sanctions will be attenuated if the Bosnian Serbs accept the plan, but these sanctions are not going to be lifted so easily, Ibrahim Rugova, chairman of the Democratic League of Kosovo, said in an interview given to Deutsche Welle Radio in Albanian. Dr. Rugova then said that such a position has been taken not only by the Albanian side but by the international community as well.

"We have continuously demanded that Kosovo be one of the conditions for lifting or at least attenuating the sanctions, and that is still valid. I consider the statement by Russian Minister Andrey Kozyrev to represent goodwill and a positive pressure on the Serbs because there are still many great problems and neuralgic points in the former Yugoslavia that have not been solved," Rugova said.

In response to a remark by correspondent Valentina Saracini that European and U.S. diplomats have often linked the lifting of sanctions with the solving of the Kosovo problem and to the question of whether there have been any changes in this respect, Dr. Rugova said the following: "There are, and one of the special propositions is that one of the conditions for lifting the sanctions will be the solving of the Kosovo problem. This has been pointed out by the Americans, as well as by some European countries. This is why we have committed ourselves to working on this all the time, both here in Kosovo and our friends abroad. Albania has also been doing so, of course."

According to Kozyrev, analogously to confederal links between the Muslim-Croatian Federation and Croatia, the Bosnian Serbs will also have such relations with Serbia. If this takes place, how do you see the perspective of solving Kosovo issue?

"As you know, one of the three options expressed in the political declaration of the Albanian political parties in the former Yugoslavia envisages for any change in the internal borders of the former Yugoslavia to have to apply to the Albanians as well. Now, with the various models of federations and confederations appearing there, as we have already pointed out, we are demanding the same for the Albanians, particularly for Kosovo, which would then have the right to enter into confederational relations with Albania or join any of other possible confederations that will be created in the Balkans during the processes of integration. As you know, we still maintain the first option—an independent and neutral Kosovo, open toward Albania and Serbia. This is also an element of confederalism, a neutral zone in the Balkans. Such a solution would be good both for the Albanians and for the Serbs. However, let me repeat, any change in the internal borders of the former Yugoslavia would apply to the Albanians as well—we shall insist on that. I believe that this is known to the others as well," Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said.

Favors Albanian Confederation

AU0608184094 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 5 Aug 94

[Text] Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Republic of Kosova, held a news conference today. Our correspondent Mehmet Haziri reports:

[Haziri] President Rugova today informed correspondents of the formidable terror that the Serbian police have been exerting against Albanians. This terror has been manifested in raids of homes and pursuits of youths in order to violently recruit them into the Serbian Army, as well as in grave physical harassment of citizens and activists of political institutions in Kosova. As the most drastic example, Rugova mentioned the Drenoc village in Rahovec, where a Serbian police expedition maltreated 15 people. Among them was Mr. Feta Berisha, chairman of the Kosova Democratic Alliance [LDK] branch in Rahovec, who was admitted to the Gjakove hospital because of the numerous wounds he received.

President Rugova also mentioned other serious cases of Serbian police violence carried out last week, such as in Brahine village and in the Prishtina streets last night, in which the Serbian police wounded a person who still has not been identified.

President Rugova considered this wave of terror against Albanians to be very dangerous and asked the international community to place Kosova under protection as soon as possible.

Asked to comment on the statement by the Federal Government of the self-proclaimed Yugoslavia to suspend political and economic relations with the so-called Srpska republic, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova stressed that we greet every peaceful initiative. However, we should find out how much of a Serbian tactic, true stance, and clear definition for peace exists in this initiative.

Responding to a correspondent's question on what stance Kosova will maintain if it comes to changing the internal or external borders of the self-proclaimed Yugoslavia, President Rugova answered that if the borders change, the Kosova Albanians will then have the right to enter into a confederation with Albania or in any other relation of this kind in the region. This is one of the main options for Albanian political parties in Kosova that was approved in 1990. However, even in the future, we will keep our option of an independent and neutral Kosova open, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova stated at today's news conference.

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